

“ The general level of emancipation of a society is indicated by the level of emancipation of its women” This statement, drawn from the studies of Marx and his close collaborator, Engels, holds true today as ever.

UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI



DOMESTIC LABOUR IN EMBAKASI DIVISION, NAIROBI PROVINCE: A GENDER PERSPECTIVE.

BY
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A PROJECT SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE AWARD OF
MASTER OF ARTS IN GENDER AND DEVELOPMENT STUDIES.

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DECLARATION

I, Betty Ng'endo Mugo, student Registration Number N/50/P/8137/03, do hereby declare, that this project is my original work and has never been presented for any other award.

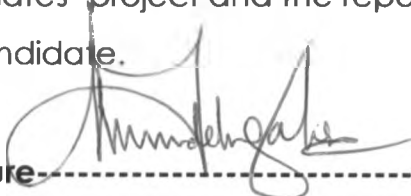
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I, Charles Owuor Olungah, do hereby declare that I have supervised the candidates' project and the report obtained herein is the genuine work of the candidate.

Signature-----

Date-----18. 11. 05

Mr. Charles Owuor Olungah

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DEDICATION

To
my son Kariuki and my daughter Wambui who opened up the world of
domestics to me and thus inspired this research.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

While I am wholly accountable for this project work, I am most grateful to those who assisted me in various ways.

First, I thank the Almighty God for sustaining and upholding me from the beginning of this programme to its end.

Secondly, on a special note, I thank my supervisor and advisor, Mr. Charles Owuor Olungah, for his timely and precise critique of this work.

Similarly, I thank the Director, the Coordinator, Lecturers and support staff of the Institute of African Studies, University of Nairobi for their dedication and support. Similarly I thank all my colleagues in the M.A. II Gender and Development class especially Judy Kinyua and Mabel Isolio to whom I remain forever indebted.

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My deepest appreciation to my family, notably my parents, Millicent and Joe Mugo; my siblings; my husband, Charles Weru for their moral and financial support in laying the foundation for this work; as to my children, Kariuki and Wambui who allowed me the opportunity to enter into the world of domestics.

ABSTRACT

Domestic work is unrecognized, unregistered, unregulated, and one of the poorest remunerated occupations, whether performed by adults or children. Domestic work is hidden or clandestine, not just because the work is itself outlawed but also because it is done without minimum contractual requirements.

Most domestics live in, and are under the exclusive, round-the-clock control of the employer (normally the female head of household); they have little freedom or free time. Majority of domestics are girls; their powerlessness within the household renders them especially vulnerable to exploitation. Due to lack of or absence of any legal restrictions on employers, most earn paltry salaries. The domestic sector has been hampered by the fact that domestics work in private homes and often are not allowed out of the house except for chores. Given this invisibility, these domestics are particularly vulnerable to various forms of abuses.

This study aimed at investigating the nature of domestic work and the resulting intra household relations from a gender perspective in Embakasi Division, Nairobi Province. The gender focus meant not focusing only on girls and women but on inequalities wherever they exist.

The research therefore, focused mainly on the situation of relations between household members and live-in domestics, the role of different players in the industry and puts in recommendations for the future of domestic labour.

The research was conducted in Embakasi division in Nairobi. The research site was selected being the largest division in Nairobi with a heterogeneous and mixed income population. The units of analysis in this study were principally domestics and their employers. Different types of data were required to make this project a success. Qualitative techniques were used focusing on questionnaires, in - depth interviews, case studies and unobtrusive observation. A total of 110 respondents were purposively selected and interviewed for the study. Secondary data was similarly carried out to supplement primary data sources. Data collected was then coded into major themes, analyzed and thereafter presented in pie charts and frequency distribution tables.

Key findings indicate that women are the major players, both as domestics and employers (at 90% and 87% respectively). Most domestics (40%) are aged between 20-24 years. 44% have completed upper primary education compared to 24% who have lower primary education. Due to lack of any legal reinforcement on their employers most (44%) earn between Kshs. 1500 and Kshs. 2000 per month compared to 32% earning Kshs. 1000 and Kshs. 1500 and 12% earning Kshs. 2000 and Kshs. 2500. There were variations in sleeping and eating arrangements. Most domestics (48%) eat after the rest of the household and often in the kitchen. A higher proportion (74%) share a room with the employers' child(ren) as compared to 13% sleeping in their own room.

Domestics perform numerous tasks ranging from cooking, washing, general housekeeping to baby-sitting. Sixty percent of employers recruit their domestics from bureaus. An overwhelming ninety percent induct them through rules as opposed to ten percent who induct by demonstration.

They suffer various forms of physical, emotional and sexual abuse by their employer. 6% female household heads physically abuse the domestic compared to 2% for the male household head. However, 16% of male household heads and a similar 10% of male children sexually abuse the domestics compared to 6% for other males (such as relatives or friends) living in the household. Female household heads are nevertheless culpable for verbally abusing domestics compared to 40% for the male head and 16% for the children.

Some domestics are equally guilty of meting abuse onto their employers and their children. 10% of domestics physically abuse the female employer and 16% of them physically abuse the employers' children. 14% of domestics verbally abuse the female household head and 32% verbally abuse children.

In conclusion, this research found that domestics are overworked, underpaid and unprotected denying them the opportunity to reach their full potential.

This research proposed that domestic labour be regulated, particularly the working conditions, terms of employment and gender based violence. Employers and domestics alike must be willing to sign a legal contract upon employment.

ACRONYMS

CDW	Child Domestic Worker
GBV	Gender Based Violence
ILO	International Labour Organization
ILO-IPEC	International Labour Organization's International Programme for the Elimination of Child Labour
KSHS.	Kenya Shillings
NGTC	Nairobi Girls Training Centre
SWCRC	Sinaga Women and Child Labour Resource Centre
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Background to the Problem

Day childcare continues to be an elusive primary concern of working mothers. The burden of housework increases substantially when there are very young children or many children in a household and a mother with several small children particularly may spend substantial amount of time away from her work. The care of the sick child especially continues to pose additional problems for the working mother (Fapohunda, 1982).

These childcare problems have been complicated by the fast changing economic conditions. This childcare dilemma will continue to grow as the number of women with education increases and hence entry into the labour market (Fapohunda 1982). In fact, the dilemma of childcare affects not only the individual woman but also the national economic development as well.

At the family level, the working mother is burdened with conflicting responsibilities of work and motherhood and must also endure fatigue, stress and anxiety which inadvertently affects her behaviour with spouse and children, perhaps even leading to marital conflict and eventual family instability. Her children left alone for long periods without proper supervision are also exposed to health and physical risks besides being deprived of adequate parental training (Fapohunda, 1982).

On national scale, childcare problems force women to become perpetual absentees from work eventually making female labour very expensive (Fapohunda, 1982). In all parts of the world, as with Kenya, working women including female domestics who become pregnant are faced with the threat of job losses, suspended earnings and increased health risks due to inadequate safeguards for their employment (ILO, 1998).

Living in urban areas, traditional childcare institutions are withering and there are few replacements (Fapohunda, 1982). Nairobi is primarily composed of migrants seeking improved economic opportunities hence conjugal units are increasingly separated from extended families with the duties and responsibilities of child rearing and housework therefore becoming restricted to the nuclear family. The refusal and/or reluctance by spouses and partners to co share or assume more domestic responsibilities further compounds the problem (Fapohunda, 1982; Mmotsa, 1991).

Most men do not do any form of housework mainly due to societal perceptions on the role of a wife (Mmotsa, 1991). With the absence of the traditional wife who has since moved to the formal and more recognized employment, the domestic worker is now a common feature of most households. Hence working mothers must compete for domestic help. The presence of a domestic worker frees the woman in the household for remunerative work and/or other community roles.

Paid domestic work is a feature of households the world over, from Ecuador to Swaziland, from Spain to Ivory Coast (Anderson, 2001). In many countries, it probably constitutes the single largest female

employment sector. It is work performed predominantly by women and girls and usually managed by other women. It has received little attention from development actors, trade unionist and political actors, many of whom, particularly if they are women, depend on a domestic worker to facilitate their activism (Anderson, 2001).

The significance of domestic work for people's lives and well-being varies according to who is doing the work, and under what conditions. While domestic work is usually unpaid and performed by women in the houses where they themselves live, it may be remunerated when performed by domestic workers (Anderson, 2001).

Gender based violence (GBV) is also emerging as a critical concern not only for the domestics but also for employers and members of their households. The very people entrusted to a domestic suffer greatly, with the very young children bearing the entire brunt. Angry domestics are likely to take out their anger on children left in their care. Reports abound of children who have suffered terrible cruelties some even fatally in the hands of domestics. Given the vulnerability of domestics, they are very often subjected to other exploitative working circumstances. The precariousness of their job makes them entirely dependent on their employer, even when the employer withholds payment, abuses and degrades the domestic.

In some households, domestic workers can only eat leftovers, sleep on kitchen floors, are beaten, verbally abused, sexually assaulted and raped by the males in the household and treated with suspicion by the female head of the household. Most of them must do without regular leave, visitation rights, maternity rights and/or competitive pay (Motsei, 1990).

Domestics are also a constant threat to relationships within and without households (Mwangi, 2005). Live-in domestics tend to know a lot about their employers' lives and how people generally relate in the households where they work. They are in on all the quarrels among married couples and any casual stands for the single. They have all the intimate details of other households usually obtained from domestics working in those households.

According to Githongo (2001), even among Nairobi legion of domestic workers, there are those who work for "wazungu" and boast of being a cut above the rest. As a cook or maid one may have reached the top of the ladder when engaged by a white expatriate. There is also a distinction between local and "foreign mzungu". The latter is often preferred since they do not have the "colonial mentality" of their more established counterparts. Yet stories abound of humiliation and abuse of domestics under the hands of fellow Africans with child domestic workers suffering the brunt of the abuse.

This research looks at the nature of the domestic work and seeks to open the world of domestics.

1.1 Problem Statement

Domestic work is largely unrecognized and unregistered and often relegated to the informal sector. A Kenya Human Rights report (2005), similarly notes that in Kenya, as is the case throughout the world, domestics are invisible workers. Information is however limited about this 'invisible' workforce — invisible because each domestic is separately

employed and works in the seclusion of a private house, unlike employees in a factory or in other firms. They do not exist as a group and are difficult to reach and to count. Their jobs are invisible too, largely because domestic work belongs in the informal labour market, is unregistered and what is worse is that it does not show up in employment statistics nor does it account for a nation's gross domestic product (Fapohunda, 1982). In addition, since the status of a domestic living in a household may be blurred with that of the family, her presence in the home may not show up in census or house- hold survey data (KHDS, 2003).

Human Rights Watch (2001), further notes that domestic workers labor in what has traditionally been deemed the private sphere and are largely invisible to and unprotected-either by de facto or de jure by - laws, regulations, and government scrutiny. Secondly, when a female domestic worker assumes the role of caregiver and housekeeper, she assumes the historical role of the housewife, performing undervalued "women's work". She is often perceived not as a worker but as a "member of the family," though as a hired worker, she may be considered inferior to true family members, including the traditional housewife. In this devalued role, she is particularly susceptible to abuse that reinforces her subordination and her employer's power. Third, as live -in workers, domestics are absent from their homes of origin and often experience social and cultural isolation, lacking knowledge of local household habits and customs, contacts with direct friends and family in the area.

The prevalence of under- age domestic workers in any setting is especially difficult to assess. The 'invisibility' of child domestic workers (CDW) also derives from the fact that the majority are girls. Doing domestic work in a household other than their own is seen as merely an extension of their

duties, and the concept of employment is missing. In many value systems, girls' and women's work is still economically disregarded — simply because girls and women do it.

Knowledge about CDW remains patchy for other reasons as well. In societies where using children as domestic workers is not recognized as 'child labour' but as a normal feature of society, motivation to inquire into their situation is likely to be limited. Indeed, even among children's rights advocates, there may be a reluctance to take special notice of CDW, who are seen as a 'cared-for' rather than an exploited group.

Recruitment and selection of domestics is also somewhat unclear. Many potential employers opt for informal methods of headhunts relying desperately on their links with friends and/or distant relations and rural acquaintances seemingly to cut down on costs and to obtain the best possible choice. Many employers ask someone, anyone to bring in a domestic into their houses to allow them go on working without verifying their identity, background, disposition or even character (Ngugi, 2005).

Similarly, domestics have also devised means of job-hunting through notice boards placed strategically at high cost shopping complexes. There is also the mushrooming business of legal and illicit bureaus purporting to liaise between domestics and potential employers. These attract both domestics and employers alike.

1.2. Justification for the Study

As an increasing number of women enter the economic activities of the country, they will be torn by conflicting roles and obligations and forced by circumstances of the modern economy to seek additional help for their households.

Similarly, with persistent inequalities in society and the continued fragmentation of the traditional family, domestic work will continue to occupy an important niche in today's society particularly the household.

Domestic work therefore deserves attention from various players ranging from policy makers' to researchers due to a variety of reasons. First, most urban domestic workers are likely to be children or youths who may have been engaged involuntarily. The prevalence of child domestic employment is therefore seen as a good indicator of the proportion of children and youths in difficult circumstances in any society.

Second, some studies done elsewhere have indicated that 9 out of 10 urban domestic workers are girls who are trapped in dreary tasks akin only to virtual slavery (UNICEF 1997). Typically domestics are girls who help with the housework and childcare. They are often young and inexperienced most younger than 18 years. The employment of young girls as domestic servants is an indicator of exploitation of the girl-child and a measure of gender inequality.

Thirdly, in situations where households hire children or youth labour for domestic work it introduces complex intra household gender relations.

Hence, this study is based on the premise that most urban households engage domestic workers. The presence of domestic workers within households enables the female head to engage in alternative activities outside the home. It also allows for the domination of one group by another. Both introduce complex household relations. Therefore, this research sought to fill the gap in information as to nature of domestic work household relations resulting therein, Secondly, much of available literature focuses on domestic labour in the realm of child labour and little has been documented on the domestic labour from a gender perspective.

1.3. Research Objectives

This study aimed at investigating the nature of domestic work and the resulting intra household relations from a gender perspective in Embakasi Division, Nairobi Province. It focused mainly on the situation of relations between household members and domestics, the role of different players in the industry and put in recommendations for the future of domestic labour.

1.3.1 Specific Research Objectives

1. To examine the gender perspective of domestic work in Embakasi Division, Nairobi Province.
2. To identify the characteristics of intra household relations of households engaging domestics in Embakasi Division, Nairobi Province.
3. To identify the nature of gender based violence (GBV) experienced within households engaging domestics.

1.4. Research Questions

1.4.1. General Research Question

The general research question in this study was; what encompasses domestic work?

1.4.2. Specific Research Questions

This broad research question has been broken into the following specific research questions:

1. What is the gender distribution and age distribution of domestic servants in Embakasi Division, Nairobi Province?
2. What are the causes, conditions and effects of domestic work on domestics from a gender perspective within households engaging domestic labour in Embakasi Division, Nairobi Province?
3. What are the manifestations and effects of gender based violence (GBV) on domestic work.

1.5. Limitations to the Study

This research addressed the topic of domestic labour, which is both a sensitive and sometimes considered a private family affair. Hence there were incidences of suspicion and mistrust particularly from employers. This resulted in incidences of non-response in situations where the employers obstructed access to the domestics. There were also situations where the

research questions were not answered accurately in situations where employers insisted on being present while the interviews were conducted.

This meant that in such instances, domestics could only be interviewed in the absence of their employers while they performed tasks outside their work premises; for instance, while taking or picking children from school, at social gatherings such as church services or market places. This proved to be time consuming.

Access into private residential areas proved to be very difficult especially because most employers were away. As a result, the researcher conducted most interviews over the weekends. This too proved to be time-consuming.

In some instances, domestic respondents expected the researcher to introduce them to prospective and better employers. The researcher had to explain that this was an academic exercise that did not deviate to matters of employment. Some would then decline to be interviewed on realizing that no offer was forthcoming. Hence the interviews were only carried out with those who were willing.

Lastly, insufficient funds meant that the researcher had to finance the entire research from personal resources. Hence, the research could only concentrate on Embakasi division, Nairobi province, which helped reduce cost.

Therefore, the research concentrated on the sampled size from the accessible population because of limited resources, notably money, time and personnel.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. History of Domestic Labour

Domestic service is one of the world's oldest occupations, and one in which children have traditionally played a part (Innocenti Digest, 1999). In non- industrialized societies, the domestic workload required to support daily life was extremely heavy. As some societies developed over time, these occupations became more formalized and took on the character of 'employment', with different types of workers — male and female - occupying different roles and undertaking different tasks for payment in cash and kind (Innocenti Digest, 1999).

In the west the explosive economic growth of the latter half of the nineteenth century transformed Chicago into the nation's leading interior metropolis. Men and women of the burgeoning urban middle class sought to display their prosperity through the hiring of domestic servants to provide daily cooking, cleaning and childcare chores. By 1870, most Chicago households employed domestic workers, which accounted for 60% of the city's wage earning women. Over the next half century, domestic service represented the leading occupation of women in Chicago and the nation (Dudden, 1983).

Domestic servants usually lived with the employing family performing a multitude of household tasks (such as laundry, ironing, cooking, cleaning and serving) in exchange for modest wage plus room and board. Domestic workers were usually young, single women from working class

families whose terms of service lasted until marriage. While comparable or superior in pay to other jobs open to uneducated females, domestic work attracted few native born women because of the long hours, low status, close supervision and lack of freedom. In nineteenth century Chicago, domestic work was increasingly performed by Irish, German, Scandinavian and Polish women (Dudden 1983).

By the turn of the twentieth century, domestic work had changed little in either substance or status. In the wake of World War I, changes in the national economy and labour market precipitated a transformation in the structure of domestic work and those who performed it. New opportunities for white women in the expanding clerical and service sectors, restrictions on European immigration and the great migration of African Americans to urban cities in the North significantly altered the labour market for domestic work (Meyerowitz 1988).

Already in 1900, African American women, being only four percent of the earning female population in the city, represented thirty percent of domestic workers. Racially excluded from most occupations, black women soon dominated the domestic service sector in Chicago. In contrast to earlier domestic servants, black women were often married with children and hence preferred day work to a living - in situation (Meyerowitz, 1988).

By 1920, more domestic workers were working at home than boarding with their employer. By reducing the number of domestic workers living with their employers and hence available for personal service, day work fostered the introduction of electric labour saving appliances into middle-

class homes, further transforming the nature of household work (Katzman, 1988).

In post World War II period, domestic work receded from prominence as a privilege in middle class families and an occupational option of working women. Commercial facilities outside the home performed much of the housework, as is the case of childcare centers, nursing homes and fast foods restaurants. Even the enduring practice of day work was contracted out to cleaning agencies (Katzman 1988).

In the north, housework (meaning work performed within one's own household and unpaid) was the subject of considerable debate in the 70s. This debate centered on the relationship of domestic work to capitalist production using the distinction drawn in the nineteenth century by Friedrich Engels between productive and reproductive work:

'The determining factor in history is, in the final instance, the productive and reproduction of immediate life...on one side, the production of the means of subsistence of food, clothing and shelter and the tools necessary for that production; on the other side, the production of the human beings themselves, the propagation of the species' (Engels 1884.4).

Further debates by various feminists argued that domestic work is actually a form of production since it "produces" the human beings that make up the workforce. They argued that what distinguishes domestic work is that it is unpaid. Some feminists argued that it is the fact that domestic work takes place within the private sphere of the home that makes it intrinsically different from production (Anderson 2001). In the home, work is not regulated by the state or market and hierarchical male dominated power relations still hold (Paleman 1983).

In most industrialized societies today, social and economic trends, including rising labour rates and widespread availability of household appliances, have dramatically reduced the numbers of those who earn their living in this way. However, these trends are at different stages in different societies and in many parts of the developing world, have yet to make a dramatic impact on the way households are managed.

In the west, particularly countries like Britain and the U.S.A. it is rare to come across ordinary families that have hired domestic staff of any type whatsoever. Very few with the exception of the very rich can afford to have a cook, or for that matter, any sort of live-in permanent help. In the European Union, in countries such as France and UK, few families resort to the "au-pair"(Mwangi 2005; Anderson 2001).

It is noteworthy that African women were sidelined as sources of domestic labour in most parts of Africa. The ready availability of men's labour in, for example, Nigeria and Kenya, meant that it was often men who were employed as domestic servants in colonial households, while women performed domestic tasks for their own families. Importantly, contexts like South Africa, which from the 1930s, turned increasingly to a large body of semi-skilled labour for the expanding mining and agricultural industry, did draw on women's severely underpaid domestic labour.

The ILO defines domestic workers in its "International Standard Classification of Occupations" "A domestic worker is someone who carries out household work in private households in return for wages". Specifically, a domestic cleans rooms, prepares food and serves meals, washes dishes and performs additional domestic duties in private households: dusts and

polishes furniture, sweeps and cleans floors and floor coverings and washes windows; makes beds and changes linen; prepares beverages, salads and desserts; washes dishes and cleans silverware; sets table and arranges chairs in dining-room and serves food; washes linen and other textiles by hand or machine and mends and irons them, performs additional duties such as answering telephone and doorbell.

Nature of Domestic Work

It is characteristic of domestic work that it involves performing several tasks simultaneously – caring for child, washing up and cooking lunch may all be done at the same time. Rather than a series of tasks, domestic work is better perceived as a series of processes, of tasks inextricably linked, often operating at the same time (Schwartz Cowan, 1983). It also involves mental and emotional work.

By its nature, domestic work requires a great deal of management, and this aspect of it is largely hidden. Domestic tasks are widely perceived by both men and women simply as chores that have to be done. It can be difficult for those who do not do domestic work- including majority of men - to understand the processes involved in such work (Anderson 2001).

Although it is difficult to position child domestic employment within any hierarchy of hazardous and exploitative child work, the International Labour Organization (ILO 2000) has established a checklist against which to measure the practice on a case-by-case basis.

Domestic work is the largest employment category for girls under sixteen worldwide, according to the International Labour Organization (ILO 2000).

It becomes then, according to ILO, among the worst forms of child labour when the child has been sold, is bonded or works without pay; works excessive hours, in isolation or at night; is exposed to grave safety or health hazards; is abused in the household or is at risk of physical violence or sexual harassment; and works at a very young age (some child domestics are as young as five).

Since time immemorial, work around the household has been regarded as a natural part of childhood upbringing, especially for girls. Their help is needed in washing dishes, looking after younger children and all the other daily activities that make the household function. Instruction in doing these things correctly is seen in societies generally as a vital preparation for the girl's future adulthood, marriage and parental life. Indeed, in traditional settings, the CDW is not considered to be 'employed' at all but merely an 'extra hand' in a family household. However, when this work occupies the entire day, exhausting the child or youth and preventing him or her from attending school and enjoying other rights, including other types of preparation for adulthood, the picture is dramatically altered (Innocenti Digest 1999).

Poverty and increasing incidences of abuse at home may prompt children and youth to leave their homes and seek domestic employment, or it may motivate them to prefer a substitute family where they are well cared (Nyabuti 2003).

In many countries including Ivory Coast, Costa Rica, Bangladesh, Philippines and Senegal, paying adult women to perform domestic work occurs alongside the custom of children and adolescents from relatively poor parents being sent to live with other, wealthier members of the

family. They are responsible for the care of younger children and housework, and in return receive a roof over their head, their keep and perhaps some education. In Haiti, large numbers of rural families send their children to work in homes of town dwellers, to whom they are not related (Anderson, 2001).

Most domestic workers are placed, or sent out, by their families for economic reasons. When families are very poor or a child is orphaned, it is common in every society throughout history for one or more of its children to be sent to live in another household (usually, but not necessarily, related). In this setting, they perform tasks in return for shelter, care, nurture, and education or useful instruction. In some settings, these children or youth are seen as additional family members for the purposes of exploiting such children's or youth's labour (Innocenti Digest, 1999).

Increasingly, the sending out or the taking in of a child or youth is not primarily designed to serve their interests, but is the outcome of a transaction in which the traded commodity is the child's or youth's labour. As demand for young domestic workers grows in many societies, their supply also becomes more organized, and recruitment agents — and occasionally traffickers bringing workers, place them in a secure household living at higher standard than the parental home, under the supervision of relatives or known parent substitutes (Innocenti Digest, 1999).

Domestic work is now a key area of employment throughout the world. The demand for domestic workers in private households, both as carers and as cleaners is marked throughout the European Union. In the UK, a survey by the research group Mintel, shows that the amount spent on

household workers rose from 1.1 billion pounds in 1987 to 4.3 billion pounds in 1997. In 1994, in Germany, an estimated 2.8 million households regularly employed domestic workers, and a further 1.4 million employed them on a irregular basis (Anderson 2001).

The demand for domestic workers is closely intertwined with gender relations. Studies in the UK have shown how many middle class heterosexual couples employ a cleaner first when the children are born, to avoid conflict over who does the domestic work (Gregson and Lowe, 1994). Perhaps managing a domestic worker openly is a more attractive option for women than attempting to manage men covertly. Employing a domestic worker also gives middleclass women time to give moral/spiritual support to the family, while freeing them from servitude (Anderson, 2000).

The reasons for this rising demand for domestic workers is that in countries of the European Union, Japan, Malaysia and Taiwan, populations are ageing and families are increasingly 'nuclear' in form (Anderson 2001).

However in other countries especially in Africa, the high number of women entering the labour market stimulates the need for domestic helpers.

"The growing number of women in domestic service is phenomenon mainly of post colonial era, as increasingly more women have entered the labour force, creating the need for domestic helpers. This has generated a wave of female migration to towns from rural areas, where these women are in need of income to support their families" (Miles, 1999).

When efforts are made by the state or private sector employers to substitute for women's domestic work, these focus on the vital work of

caring for children and the elderly, rather than the management of the household and domestic chores. However, even this is very limited, even in Europe. France is the only country in the European Union which provides publicly funded care for children of three and below, and even there, only 20% of the children will find a place with most middle class people making their own private arrangements (Anderson 2001).

In Kenya, the concept of domestics permeates every level of society. Even domestics occasionally have domestics (Mwangi, 2005). A woman employed as a domestic in the one of the city suburbs hires someone else to look after her own children

2.3. Characteristics of Domestic Labour

One striking characteristic of paid domestic work is that, often migrants perform it, whether rural or urban as well as international ones. In Europe, evidence from migrants' organization points to domestic work and prostitution being the main forms of employment for newly arrived migrant women (Anderson, 2001).

More children and young people today are working in households in no way related to their own, often at a considerable distance (Innocenti Digest 1999). Under the control of adults who, whatever their intention to be nurturing, have as their first concern not the child's well-being but that of their own household — to which the child or youth must contribute. Usually they have chosen to employ a young girl or boy because she or he is cheaper to hire, is more malleable and will cost less than an adult does. This is often the case in modern middle-class households where both partners go out to work, but can no longer rely on the extended family —

younger sisters and cousins – for household help. So they seek out the cheapest available alternative (Innocenti Digest, 1999).

Among the aspects of a domestics' development that can be endangered by work are: physical development-including overall health, coordination, strength, vision and hearing; cognitive development-including literacy, numeracy and acquisition of knowledge necessary to normal life; emotional development-including adequate self esteem, family attachment, feelings of love and acceptance; social and moral development- including a sense of group identity, the ability to cooperate with others and the capacity to distinguish right from wrong (Bequele and Myers 1995).

In recent times important changes have taken place in that 'work as upbringing' in the child's own home or the house of a relative or friend is giving way to a commercialized, and therefore more potentially exploitative, arrangement. Long hours, low rewards, lack of growth and development opportunities, lack of love and affection, and other deprivations ensue (Innocenti Digest, 1999).

2.4. Rights, Violations and Domestic Work

Only recently have campaigners for workers rights begun to focus their attention on what is probably the largest and most exploited group of workers in the world – domestics. In most parts of the world, the forces of demand and supply that propel women, youth and children into menial occupations continue to fuel domestic labour. This is especially so in societies where the opportunities for employment is limited, labour cheap, poverty widespread, the sense of social hierarchy strong, and human

energy rather than the labour-saving appliances still the linchpin of household management (Innocenti Digest, 1999).

Employing a foreign and/or migrant domestic worker, or one from a different ethnic, social, or religious group, enables households to perpetuate and promote the idea of other races and social groups as servers and doers of dirty work that they themselves are too important to do (Anderson, 2001).

When a domestic is charged with looking after children, these power relations are quite literally reproduced. As a Filipina in Athens described;

'I head children playing house. The other child said, 'I am daddy'. The other child said, 'I am mummy'. And then to the third child, 'she is Filipina'.

So the child knows or is learning that if you are Filipina you are a servant inside the house (Anderson, 2001).

Domestic work is not only essential maintenance of physical bodies or confined to caring for people who are part of the labour force, it is also concerned with perpetuating culture and society and the social standing and lifestyles of households. Nobody has to have polished floors or ornaments that gather dust, but such things affirm the status of the household, its economic class and its access to money and human resources (Anderson, 2001).

In practice it is hard to distinguish essential domestic work that has to do with maintaining status. For instance the care of a young child inevitably involves a great deal of cleaning, washing clothes, and so on, but much of this is, strictly speaking, unnecessary. How often clothes are washed,

and whether they are ironed, rapidly becomes issues of status (Anderson, 2001).

Women working without papers, with no legal protection, and isolated in private households, are particularly vulnerable to abuse. They often perform degrading tasks that it is unlikely that any woman with a choice would be prepared to undertake. Such tasks include flushing toilets after employers' and other household members use them, cleaning employers' and other household members' inner wear and/or cleaning pets. Such tasks can only be interpreted within the framework of manifestation of employers' 'power and domestics' powerlessness (Anderson 2001).

2.5 Household Relations

While not all employers degrade or abuse their workers, it is important to recognize there is always a power relationship between domestic workers and their employers and this power is greatly increased when the worker is an undocumented migrant (Anderson 2001).

Physical caring requires face-to-face interaction which when repeated on a daily basis with a small number of people in a private household, almost inevitably develops into a relationship. This kind of relationship becomes difficult to manage when the person cared for is a child. Does the money paid to domestic compensate a worker who is required to do work which leads to her forming a human relationship with those who employ her, yet whose work brings no mutual obligation, no entry into community, and no real human relations, only money? (Anderson, 2001)

Some employers attempt to negotiate this difficulty by using the idea that domestic workers are part of the family, as a strategy for managing the complex personal and power relations around domestic work. However this rarely solves the problem since domestic worker who has cared for a child over many years and spent more time with the child than the natural mother, has no right to see the child should the employer decide to terminate the relationship (Anderson 2001).

Being told that you are part of the family often serves to conceal the real power relationships at work and this leads to confusion and exploitation. Employers can switch from considering the relationship a contractual or familial, depending on what's most convenient for them. Some of the disadvantages of being 'one of the family' far outweigh the advantages. Wages for instance tend to be lower and erratically paid on the premise that the maid the domestic would "understand" their financial situation. Incorporating a domestic worker into the family circle is usually, although not always, is a way of depressing wages and possibly hiding even the most discreet forms of exploitation involved in the employer-employee relationship (Miles, 1999).

Most women seek remunerative work because of economic demands, to secure an autonomous income and as a means of diminishing a husband domestic power. This move is strongly opposed by men who feel that wives are subsequently unable to take proper care of the house, children and themselves if they work. In short, they are not as good wives as they should. Hence the presence of a domestic who frees the woman to work outside the home complicates household relations especially conjugal relations, resource allocation and decision-making. (Roldan, 1988)

2.6. Gender Based Violence

A universal characteristic of all domestic work is the domestic's dependence on the employer. The attitude of the employer largely determines the domestic's level of vulnerability to exploitation and abuse. Gender based violence (GBV) is now considered a significant public health and human rights concern (Ellsberg et. al, 2001).

They are exposed to several forms of abuse (e.g. beatings, sexual harassment, language, insults and social denial), which can lead to retardation of physical, mental and emotional development. They are discriminated against in the household. They work without appreciation. Labour laws do not cover them. The laws that do govern their employment are not clear. Domestics work under constant threat of punishment and physical abuse. They also faced the risk of sexual abuse by older men or boys living in the same house.

Physical and sexual abuse has been found to have a broad range of physical and health problems including: depression, suicide, bodily injury, and homicide. Further to these, domestics who have experienced sexual or physical assault are more likely to suffer a variety of sexual and reproductive health disorders including sexually transmitted diseases, unwanted pregnancy and adverse pregnancy outcomes including miscarriage, abortions and infants of low birth weights.

Domestics are also vulnerable psychologically: they can suffer devastating psychological damage from being in an environment in

which they are demeaned or oppressed. Self-esteem is very important for children as it is for adults.

According to UK domestic workers' support organization, "Kalayaan", between 1996 and 1997 of the 195 registered workers, 84% reported psychological abuse, 34% physical abuse and 10% sexual abuse. 54% were locked in, 55% did not have their own bed and 38% had no regular food. In Hong Kong, survey of 100 Indonesian domestic workers found that 76% were not given the statutory day off, 86% had their passport held and 86% did not receive the minimum wage (Anderson 2001)

Similarly, children left under the care of domestics have fallen victims of various forms of abuse as have some employers.

2.7. Domestic Labour and the Law

According to the 1998/1999 child labour report, the legislative framework indicates that Kenya has about 65 statutes bearing on the employment of young persons and children. They are provided for under various acts among them the Employment Act (Cap 266) 1976, which gives protection to individual workers against any wrongful dismissal while still providing for the employment of women and juveniles. Section IV particularly makes provisions for the conditions of employment of juveniles and women as well as providing for their protection. Similarly the employment of women, young persons and children's act provides for enforcement officers to ensure the protection of children while in employment while setting the minimum age for employment.

In fact, section 11 of this act defines a child as an individual, male or female who has not attained the age of 16 years while a juvenile as an individual who is 16 years but not yet 18 years. The Children Act (2001) however encompasses the two definitions and classifies a child as one who has not yet attained 18 years old.

The Employment (Children) Rules, 1977, outline procedures for employing children, specifying hours when a child may be employed with the official permission of an authorized officer. Further, the regulation of wages and conditions of employment sets the minimum wages at Kshs 4335 per month or Kshs 205.50 per day in Nairobi plus fifteen percent house allowance, notice for dismissal as well as 21 days paid leave.

Kenya ratified International Labor Organization (ILO) Convention No. 138 on the minimum Age for employment on April 9, 1979, and ILO Convention No. 182 on the worst Forms of Child Labor on May 7, 2001. The United Nations Conventions on the Rights of the Child protects children from abuse and exploitation. Based on the principles of human rights it affirms that children are vulnerable and in need of special protection (ILO 1998/99).

2.8. Theoretical Framework

2.8.1. Feminism

This is an umbrella term that covers many approaches to gender and patriarchy. Generally, it is a way of thinking critically about gender and its place in social life (Johnson, 1997). Though all feminist thought begins with

gender as problematic, it takes different paths especially in relation to patriarchy.

2.8.1.2. Marxist Feminism

Marxist feminism arises out of the doctrines of Karl Marx, whose theory is centered more on the material aspects of life than on the more broadly defined social ones. Central to Marxism is the idea of the division of labor, which are familiarly evident in the capitalist system. Capitalism is organized around control and domination-whether of workers, technology or markets, competitors and economic life and is one of the most important areas, which the dynamics of patriarchal dynamic of fear and control operates (Johnson, 1997).

Marxist feminism argues that women's oppression has more to do with the class dynamics of capitalism than with male privilege and dominance. Women's oppression arose with the development of class society, that is, society based upon the exploitation of the majority for the enrichment of the minority. For these divisions to be perpetuated through generations, there must be a way for the ruling class to hand on their wealth. This is one of the driving forces behind the historical development of the family system (Hartmann, 1987).

Friedrich Engels, a collaborator of Marx argued that social inequality originated in the family and that historically women were the first oppressed group (Johnson, 1997).

A family unit cannot be understood solely, or even primarily as a unit shaped by affect or kinship but must also be seen as allocation where production and redistribution take place. In a Marxist- feminist view, the

organization of production both within and outside the family is shaped by patriarchy and capitalism. Our present social structure rests upon an unequal division of labour by class and gender, which generates tension, conflict and change. These patriarchal and capitalist relations between people, rather than familial relations themselves are the sources of dynamism in our society (Hartmann, 1987).

The particular forms familial relations largely reflect these underlying social forces. E.g. the distribution that is within the family between wages earners and non wage earners is necessitated by division of labour inherent in the patriarchal and capitalist organizations of production.

"Members of the family have different interests and use familial ties in various ways. These are however influenced by gender roles with particular relations to division of labour organized by capitalism and patriarchy. Although family members have distinct interests arising out of their relations to production and redistribution, these same relations also ensure their mutual independence. Both the wife who does not work for wages and the husband who does, for example, have a joint interest in the size of his paycheck, the efficiency of her cooking facilities and the quality of their children's education" (Hartmann, 1987).

According to Johnson (1997), Marxists argue that every aspect of social life is shaped by how material needs are met in society. How production is organized in society gives rise to various kinds of social classes. In a feudal society for example production centered on land and class inequality was defined in relation to it. Landowners were dominant while those who worked were the subordinates. Under capitalism the class that owns or controls the means of production is the dominant class. Marx argued that that social life is always organized around basic aspects of economic life. The dominant class will generally act to preserve a given economic system and the class that is dominated by it (Johnson, 1997).

2.8.1.3. Relevance of the theory

It seems that working as a domestic worker may not challenge the structures of patriarchy, racism and inequality that impoverish women in the first place, indeed arguably at the structural level, they are only reinforced by such work. Individually, however, it makes a difference to people's lives (Anderson, 2001).

Judith Rollins developed the notion of maternalism to denote a friendly relationship between women that works to conform the employer's kindness and the worker's childlike inferiority. Through kindness and charity, the powerful woman asserts her feminine qualities of morality and pity over the helpless recipient. Thus once again, the worker plays a role in reproducing a female stereotype (Rollins, 1985). The relationship between worker and employer is not a straightforward contractual one, nor is the worker straightforwardly selling her labour power.

Through a Marxian lens, gender oppression is just a variation of class oppression. Women's oppression is by-product of capitalist exploitation that feeds on women's free and cheap labour and ready availability as part-time workers who can be hired when needed and discarded when not (Johnson, 1997).

The Marxian version of feminism argues that women's oppression has more to do with class dynamics of capitalism than with male privilege and dominance as forces in their own right (Johnson, 1997).

According to Oyunga (2004), domestic work is in fact one of the most recent and curious phenomena because of its stubborn traces to colonialism. It is the height of irony of female liberation. When the

housewife gained economic empowerment and moved to the office, the maid took her place in the home. With the empowerment of one group came the oppression of the other.

To privatize domestic work is to privatize domestics' oppression and to render their status a question of domestic relations (Mackinnon, 1989).

With the rise of the family system came the systematic oppression of women. Women's primary role became that of child-bearer and carer. This is why the fight against sexism and for women's liberation goes to the very heart of the capitalist system. In fact Marx sees women as being defined by their biology. The woman who works outside her home is an enemy by nature. To Marx, women's natural role is mirrored in her role at home (Mackinnon, 1989).

Hartmann in developing a Marxist-Feminist analysis of the family argues that we must look at the work people do in the family and the amount of control they have over the products of that labour. When we do, we see the family and how the struggle over inequities in the division of labour in the family though that same division of labour creates the interdependency, which is the basis of family unity at other times. She concludes that, because men and women have different relationships to capitalism and patriarchy, men are unlikely to share the burden of housework with women regardless of whether their wives work for wages and/or have children at home (Hartmann, 1987).

The portion of household production called housework largely consists of purchasing commodities and transforming them into usable forms. Sheets for example must be bought, put on beds, rearranged after every sleep

and washed just as food must be bought, cleaned, cooked and served to become a meal. Household production also encompasses the biological reproduction of people and the shaping of their gender as well as their maintenance through housework (Hartmann 1987).

The wage system keeps domestics subordinate to their female employers by keeping the workingwoman subordinate to capital in the market places (Nicholson, 1987).

2.8.1.4. Strengths of the Theory

Marxian feminism is useful because it shows how economic life in general and capitalism in particular shape gender oppression (Johnson, 1997).

It is also particularly useful in order to understand how patriarchy and capitalism support each other and how they occasionally conflict (Hartman, 1987).

According to Anderson (2001), Marxist feminism holds class contradictions and class analysis central and base their arguments of moral right and wrong in reference to the corruption of wage labor that is in itself an expression of class distinctions but class for women is determined by men (first fathers, then husbands).

Marxist theory argues that society is fundamentally constructed of the relations people form as they do and make things needed to survive humanly.

2.8.1.5. Weaknesses of the Theory

Its single-minded focus on economics overlooks the essentially patriarchal nature of systems such as feudalism and capitalism (Johnson, 1997).

It tells little about how the interests and dynamics of patriarchy and capitalism overlap and support each other. Nor does it help to explain women continued subordination in non-capitalist societies such as China. It also cannot tell us everything about women, gender and social life (Johnson, 1997).

2.9. Study Assumptions

The main assumption of this research project is that most domestic servants working in households in Nairobi are basically young people from disadvantaged backgrounds. Most of these domestic servants are likely to influence positively or negatively the intra household relations within the households in which they work. The above broad hypothesis has been recast into the following specific study assumptions.

1. The female household head is largely responsible for domestics.
2. Most domestics in Embakasi Division, Nairobi Province are children (aged less than 15) and youths (aged between 15 and 30 years).
3. Domestic servants in Nairobi are likely to be exposed or expose other members of a household to various forms of abuse including: psychological, physical and sexual abuse. The rate and severity of this abuse varies with the age and sex of the individual domestic and the children in those households.

2.10. Operational Definitions

Bureau will refer to an agency or business enterprise that links potential employers to domestics seeking employment.

Child Domestic will refer to persons aged 5-15 years who performs one or all-household duties either for pay, profit or household gain.

Domestic here refers to any member of a household who is employed to perform one or all of the domestic duties including; baby-sitting, house cleaning; cooking, washing of utensils and clothes. These servants are either paid in kind or earn minimal wages normally determined by their employer or agreed between the employer and the individual worker or/and with his or her parents or guardian.

Even though different cultures have different definitions for a child, the ILO has established a general minimum age of 15 years for one to be considered a child provided 15 is not less than the age of completion of compulsory primary schooling. In this work, a **child** therefore refers to any person with aged 15 years and below.

Gender Based Violence will refer to any unwelcome act, word or behaviour or the threat of any of these by either males or females that demeans another individual, whether they are male or female.

Gender refers to the socially constructed roles, responsibilities, opportunities and status of men and women at a specific time and place.

Household characteristics will include: co-residence, number of occupants, size of dwelling, age and sex distribution, and work status of the adult residents.

Household Head will refer to the key decision maker whose authority is acknowledged by other members of the household

Household will refer to a person or group of persons residing in the same house, answerable to the same head, pooling and sharing resources for common provisions.

Socioeconomic characteristics will include, level of education ethnic background and income level.

Youth shall refer to any individual engaging in domestic labour and is aged between 15 and 30 years.

CHAPTER THREE

3.1. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

1.0. Introduction

This chapter describes and discusses the study site, the sample and sampling procedure, data collection techniques, research instruments used and the framework of analysis.

3.1. Site Description

The study site was Nairobi, the capital city of Kenya. Administratively, it is divided into eight divisions namely; Makadara, Pumwani, Central, Pangani, Dagoretti, Westlands, Kasarani and Embakasi Divisions. The research was conducted in Embakasi Division, being the largest division in Nairobi comprising a heterogeneous population with a mixed income group. To achieve this, the various administrative jurisdictions were clustered into the various housing estates within Embakasi namely, Dandora, Pipeline, Embakasi, Jacaranda, Savanna, Doonholm, Umoja, Komarock, Kayole, Saika, Njiru, Ruai. The various research sites produced a consistent and accessible population for sampling to cater for the heterogeneous population of Embakasi.

3.1.2. Sampling

According to Baker (1994), the social entities whose social characteristics are the focus of the study will be the unit of analysis. These are collection of things to be studied. The units of analysis of this study were domestics, their employers and other players in domestic labour. The sample was drawn purposively and limited to domestics that were working and current employers.

3.1.3. Sample selection

The sampling technique was purposive. Babbie (1995) defines purposive sampling as a form of non-probability sampling method in which the researcher uses his or her judgment in the selection of sample members. The subjects selected must meet the study's needs. This method is preferred in this study because respondents had to be domestics who are working and current employers alongside key players in the industry such as training institutions, Non governmental organizations concerned with domestic labour as well as employment bureau owners and proprietors.

The sample size was 110 respondents, 50 domestics, 50 employers and 10 key respondents. This sample size was selected from a sampling frame of the various housing estates. The primary determinant was accessibility, availability and co-operation.

3.2. Data Collection Methods

Different types of data were required to make this project a success. The data used was derived from both primary and secondary sources. Primary data was generated from field research carried in Embakasi division, Nairobi province. It involved collection of both qualitative and quantitative data using semi-structured questionnaires for the domestics and employers and an interview guide for the key informants (a domestic, an employer, bureau proprietor and training centers). Unobtrusive observation offered further insight into the process.

Secondary data was obtained through perusal of literature in books, journals, magazines, newspapers and the Internet. These literatures were

accessed from libraries at the University of Nairobi, the World Bank and local non-governmental organizations (NGOs).

3.2.1. Interviews

Interviews for this study were conducted on the basis of themes. Two semi-structured questionnaires were designed each targeting domestics and employers. An interview guide was similarly prepared to guide the in-depth interviews with the key informants. These were essentially domestics and employers, those involved in training domestics, those involved in recruitment notably employment bureaus and organizations with intervention programmes for domestics.

The researcher was responsible for administering the questionnaires. For the domestics, information was sought on background demographic and socioeconomic characteristics like; current age and sex, marital status, length of work as a domestic servant and place of previous employment. Additional information was sought on the characteristics of the domestic servants and those that hire them; the experiences of different domestic servants; existing payment, eating and sleeping arrangement at their places of work.

Questions covering current experiences as domestic servants included; current remuneration, number of leave and/or off days for visits, sleeping and eating arrangements, length of working hours per day, incidences and prevalence of different levels of abuse (namely; verbal, physical, psychological and sexual) among domestic servants.

Finally, respondents were asked about their future life and expectations.

3.2.2. In-depth Interviews

To obtain more detailed and meaningful answers to sensitive questions on personal topics, the study finally held in-depth interviews with 10 relevant respondents. The in-depth interviews used open-ended questions to solicit information on the forces that contributed to household heads decisions to engage male or female domestic labour, to seek alternatives to domestic labour services and future expectations for domestic labour.

Similarly, information was sought from recruitment agencies to ascertain what programmes are in place to meet the changing demands of employers, responsive measures they undertake to address employer/employee complaints as well as obstacles they face in the industry. The main categories of respondents for in-depth analysis included, selected employers and domestics, proprietors of recruitment agencies (bureaus), training organizations and NGOs.

3.2.3. Case Studies

Two case studies were identified with the help of key informants one each from the domestics and employers categories. The researcher documented their personal experiences in order to illustrate the dynamics of domestic labour.

3.2.4. Library Research

Library research went on throughout the period of the research. Information contained in the literature review (chapter two) was initially collected before the study began and was reviewed continuously and enhanced throughout the research.

3.2.5. Observation and General Discussion

Since domestic work is part of everyday life, the researcher observed its dynamics and general discussions were raised with various players on an ad hoc basis. Information thus generated helped enrich the findings.

3.3. Methods of Data Processing, Analysis And Presentation

As we will see in chapter four, the study used both numerical and non-numerical data to describe, explain, report and document results. Responses were entered in a codebook; thereafter percentages, frequency distribution tables, pie charts and graphs summarized the obtained information.

3.4. Ethical Considerations

Ethical considerations were carefully observed throughout the study. The use of pseudonyms observed confidentiality of respondents' identity. Permission was similarly sought from both employers and domestics before interviews. Interviews were similarly carried out in private. In cases where respondents were domestics awaiting recruitment in bureaus, they were interviewed in the absence of both potential employers and the bureaus' proprietors.

All employers were interviewed in the absence of their domestics. Permission was sought from all respondents within organizations to have their identity acknowledged by the researcher in exchange for key findings of the study. Afterwards, all collected data was securely kept by the researcher, who assured them, that all findings would purely be for academic purposes.

CHAPTER FOUR
DATA PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION

4.1 Characteristics of Domestics and Employers

4.1.1 Demographic Characteristics

4.1.1.1 Gender

A total of 100 respondents were interviewed in this research, out of these 50% were employers and 50% were domestics.

Figure 1 shows that 87% of the employer respondents were women while only 13% were men.



Figure 1. Number of employers by gender

The number of domestics by gender closely reflected that of employers. Of all domestic respondents, 90% were female with only 10% being male. This clearly indicates that domestic labour is segregated by sex.

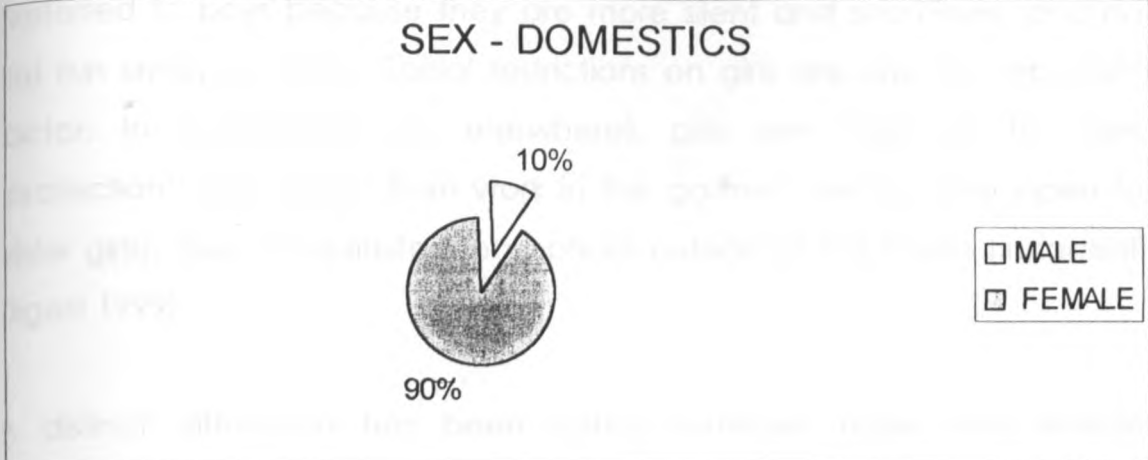


Figure 2. Number of domestics by gender

The majority of domestics are girls, with the world's estimates putting the proportion at 90%. Individual country studies tend to confirm this estimate; According to the KDHS (2003), Nairobi has 23.9% female domestic workers and 1.6% male domestic workers. In Ecuador and in Chile, domestic workers account for at least 20% of the economically active female labour force (Anderson, 2001). In the Philippines a 1997 study found that nine out of ten child domestic workers were female. Research carried out in Togo revealed that 95% of child domestic workers were girls. There are, however, strong regional differences. While in Latin America, virtually all-domestic workers tend to be girls; but in parts of Asia there are significant numbers of boys (Innocenti Digest 1999).

In Bangladesh, however, 17% of child domestics surveyed were found to be boys. In Nepal, a study in the Katmandu Valley discovered that more than half of the domestic workers were boys (Innocenti Digest 1999).

The predominance of girls reflects a traditional attitude that household chores are 'women's work'. The prevailing view in Nepal is that girls are preferred to boys because they are more silent and submissive and do not run away so often. Social restrictions on girls are also an important factor. In Bangladesh (as elsewhere), girls are 'kept in' for their 'protection'; and, apart from work in the garment sector (only open to older girls), they have limited job options outside of the house (Innocenti Digest 1999).

A distinct difference has been noted between male and female domestics. According to Kithaka (2005), prevailing societal stereotypes similarly define these differences. Male domestics are considered to be more serious and reliable than female domestics. They hence dominate households with older children, those with no children or those occupied by unmarried men.

Boys similarly have far greater mobility. Even the work they do as domestics is likely to be outside the house - tending the garden, looking after the car, or helping in the employer's business. Because of these differences, evidence suggests that young live-in male domestics may feel less isolated than their female counterparts (Oyaide 2000).

4.1.1.2 Age

The graph below shows that the highest number at (40%) of domestics was aged between 20-24 years while the age group 15-19 had a significant number at 36% domestics. Older domestics (over 30 years)

were significantly fewer with only about 8% relative to 16% for those aged 25-29.

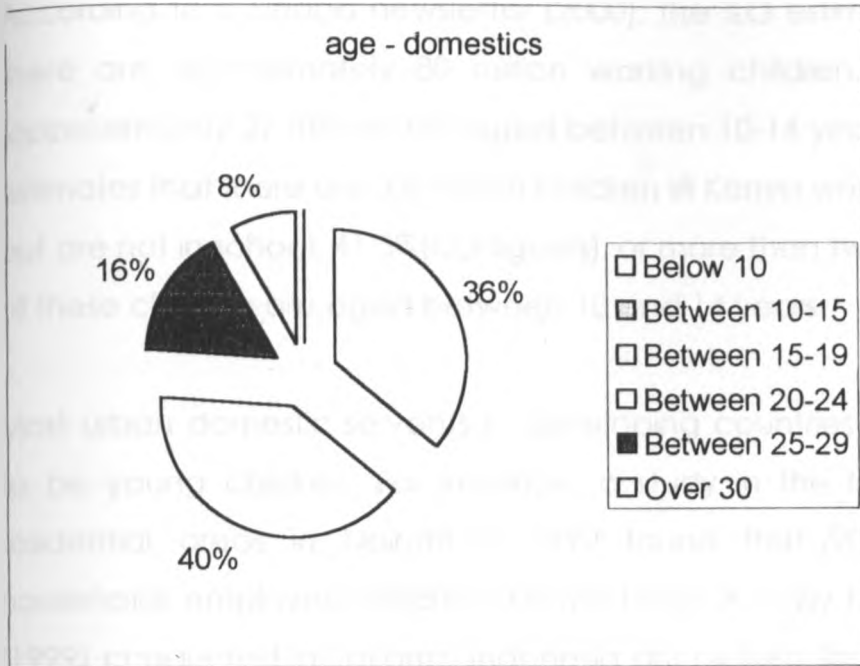


Figure 3. Distribution of domestics by age

ILO 1996 estimates that domestic work is the largest employment category of girls under age 16 in the world. According to ILO (1995), Most domestic workers appear to be between 12 and 17 years. It is also known, however, that significant numbers of children in various countries routinely begin working as domestic workers well before they reach adolescence.

The KHDS (2003) revealed that throughout the country, girls aged 15-19 made up the largest number of domestics at 24.6% followed by those aged 20-24 at 12.7%. Similarly boys aged 15-19 made the highest domestics at 7.5% throughout the country.

According to Sinaga Women and Child Labour Resource Centre (SWCRC) some domestics are as young as seven years.

According to a Sinaga newsletter (2000), the ILO estimates that in Africa there are approximately 80 million working children. A third of these (approximately 27 million) are aged between 10-14 years. UNICEF similarly estimates that there are 3.6 million children in Kenya who are school going but are not in school. 41.3%(ILO figures), or more than two out of every five of these children are aged between 10 and 14 years.

Most urban domestic servants in developing countries have been found to be young children. For instance, a study in the lower middle class residential areas in Nairobi in 1992 found that 20 percent of the households employed children (Kenya 1992). A study by Innocenti Digest (1999) conducted in Jakarta, Indonesia discovered that almost one third of domestic workers (about 400,000) were aged under 15 years. Another survey of domestic workers in Uruguay found that 34 percent had begun working before they were 14 years old (Innocenti Digest 1999). Similar findings were reported in India where a study indicated that 17 percent of domestic workers were less than 15 years (UNICEF 1997).

In Haiti, of an estimated 250,000 child domestic workers are 7 to 10 years old. In Nepal, some 62,000 urban domestics are under age 14. In Lima, Peru, the number of domestic workers under 18 is estimated at 150,000. In the Philippines, there are an estimated 29,000 domestic workers between 10 and 14 years old, comprising 4% of the total 766,000 domestic workers nationwide. The largest concentration (36%) is between 15 and 19 years old. In Sri Lanka, an estimated 100,000 children are employed in domestic service and food catering. By contrast, in lower middle-class areas of

Nairobi, 20% of households employed a child domestic worker in 1981 compared with 12% in 1991 (of which, 11% were under age 10).

An ILO survey in Bangladesh found that 38 per cent domestic workers were 11 to 13 years old, and nearly 24 per cent were 5 to 10 years old. Similarly, in Haiti, many children as young as five may be separated from their families to work as "restaveks", or 'stay-withs' (ILO, 1996).

Other surveys by ILO - IPEC found that 11 per cent of child domestic workers were 10 years old in Kenya; 16 per cent were 10 years old or less in Togo; around 5 per cent were less than 11 years old, and 29 per cent were between 11 and 15 years old in Greater Santiago; and 26 per cent were less than 10 years old in Venezuela. In Benin, 72.4% of one sample was between 10 and 14 years, 19.2% below 10 years, and only 8.4% above 14 years of age. In Ghana, 80% of girls working as domestics were between 10 and 14 years. In India, a survey found that 17% of domestic workers were fewer than 15. In Togo, 16% of child domestic workers were found to be 10 or less, 50% under 14, and 65% under 15. In Uruguay, 34% of domestic workers surveyed began work before age 14 (Innocenti Digest 1999).

Employers prefer to employ children because they are weak, have no voice, are unaware of how to defend themselves and are cheap to hire (Sinaga, 2000)

4.2.1. Socioeconomic Characteristics

Social characteristics such as marriage, level of education and income levels dictate the standard of living of individuals and the opportunities available to them. The economic 'status of individuals' stem from the

social characteristics that they ascribe to or have achieved. This section will now look at various categories of socioeconomic characteristics namely, ethnic background, marital status, level of education and salary levels.

4.2.1.1 Marital Status

Marital status directly or indirectly affects many aspects of economic and social well being of both men and women. Single hood whether never married, widowed, separated or divorced determines whether a respondent employer is the head of the household, their contribution to household budgets, their decision making power as well their household relations (Kenya 2002).

Figure 4 indicates that most employers are married (56%) while those that are separated (24%) come a close second. The difference between those that are divorced, widowed or single is relatively low at 8% and 6%.

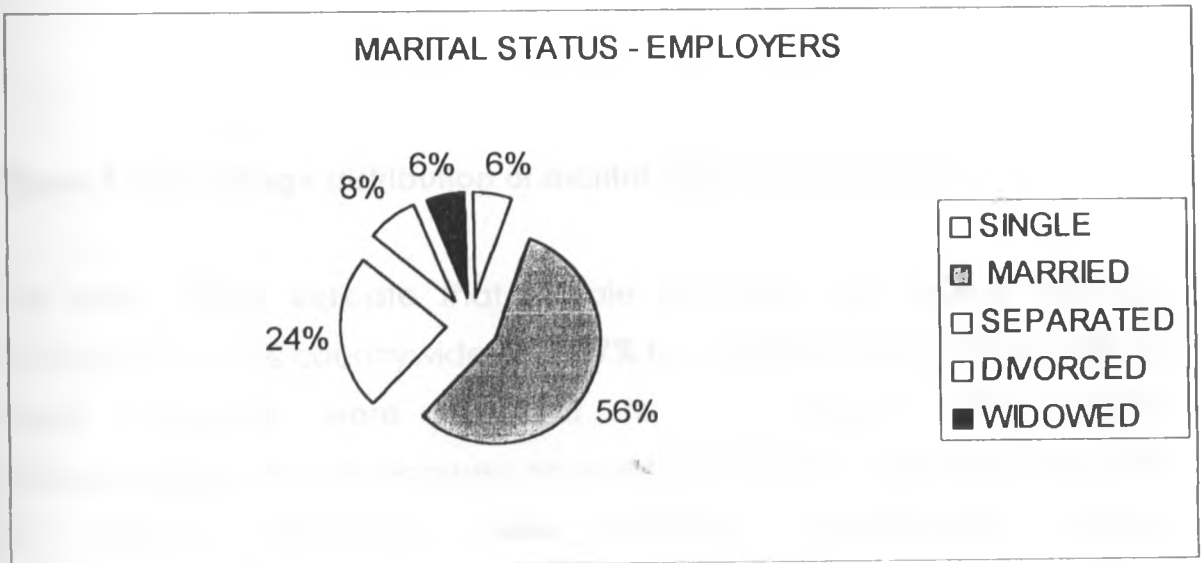


Figure 4. Percentage distribution of marital status for employers

Marital status for domestics reflects a different picture altogether in that the vast majority of domestics have never been married (72%) as compared to those that are married (12%). Those that are single (divorced, separated or widowed) account for a total of 16%. For domestics, marital status signifies if they are able to work full time or part-time and the age at which they can undertake domestic labour.

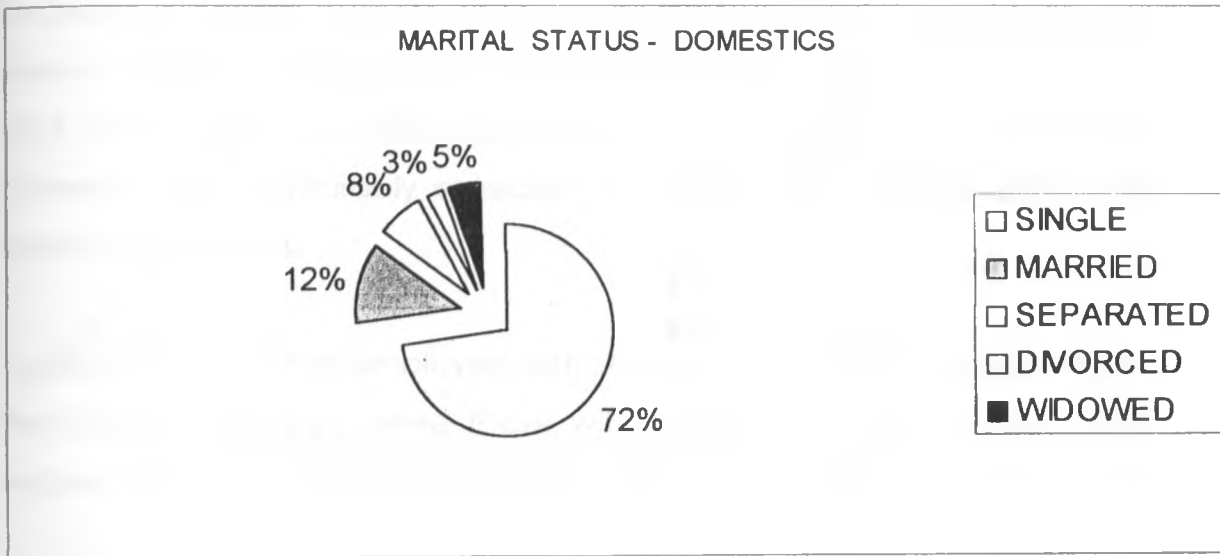


Figure 5. Percentage distribution of marital status for domestics

The KHDS (2003) indicate that female domestics who never married account for 26.2% countrywide and 6.7% for male domestics. Only 1.4% of male domestics were reported to be married while those divorced/separated or widowed accounted for 3%. By contrast, only 3.2% of female domestics were married countrywide. Those divorced/separated/widowed made up 8.4% of females engaged in

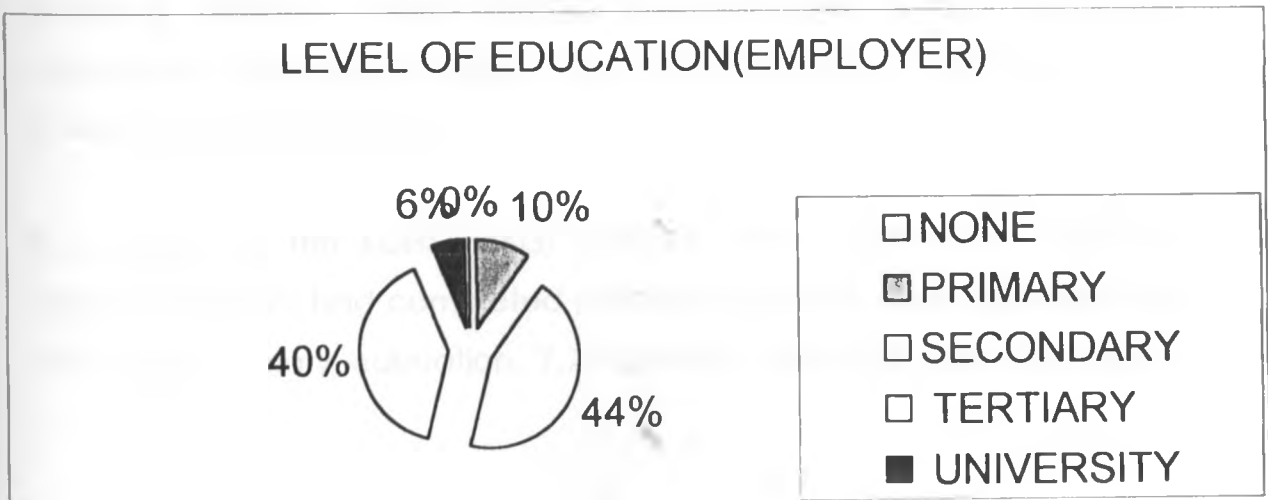
domestic service. Employers prefer unmarried domestics since they are cheaper to hire, have fewer dependants and hence less constraints and can work full time without demanding or expecting various provisions such as leave, medical and maternity allowances.

4.2.1.2. Level of Education

The level of education is important especially because it is a good basis for the level of income an individual is able to attract. It also enables individuals with higher levels of education to make more favorable decisions in various aspects of their lives (Kenya 2002). The educational level of employers is important in that it enables us assess their economic and social status. A well-educated employer is expected to treat their domestic more favourably especially in payment of salaries, eating and sleeping conditions.

Figure 6 indicates that employers with secondary education (44%) marked the highest category, while those with tertiary education (40%) come second. No employer indicated lack of any level of education.

Figure 6. Distribution of level of education for employers



In most cases, a domestic is school dropout mainly due to lack of school fees. Few have post secondary education while others have never been to school (Kuria 2005).

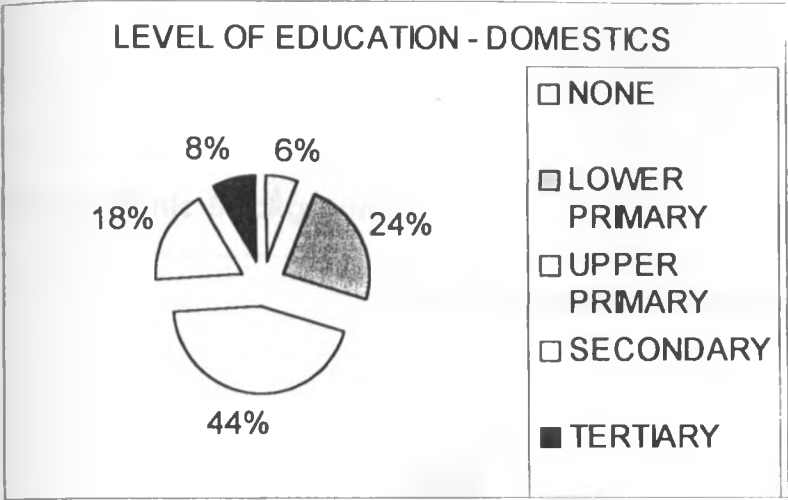


Figure 7. Distribution of level of education for domestics

Majority of the domestics (44%) had attained education up to upper primary with a significant number (24%) having only attained lower primary standard of education. 18% of domestics had secondary education, 8% had tertiary education and only 6% had no education at all. Those with tertiary education have trade skills in tailoring, hairdressing, plumbing, masonry and/or driving. However, due to lack of better opportunities they enter domestic labour with the hope of saving enough to start their own businesses

By comparison, the KDHS (2003) indicates that countrywide, 12.2% of female domestics had completed primary education while 8.5% had not completed primary education. 7.2% female domestics had secondary

school education and above. For male domestics, those who had not completed primary education throughout the country made up the highest number of domestics at 5.5% followed closely by those who had completed primary education at 3.2%. Only 1.9% of male domestics had received no education countrywide.

4.2.1.3. Ethnic Background

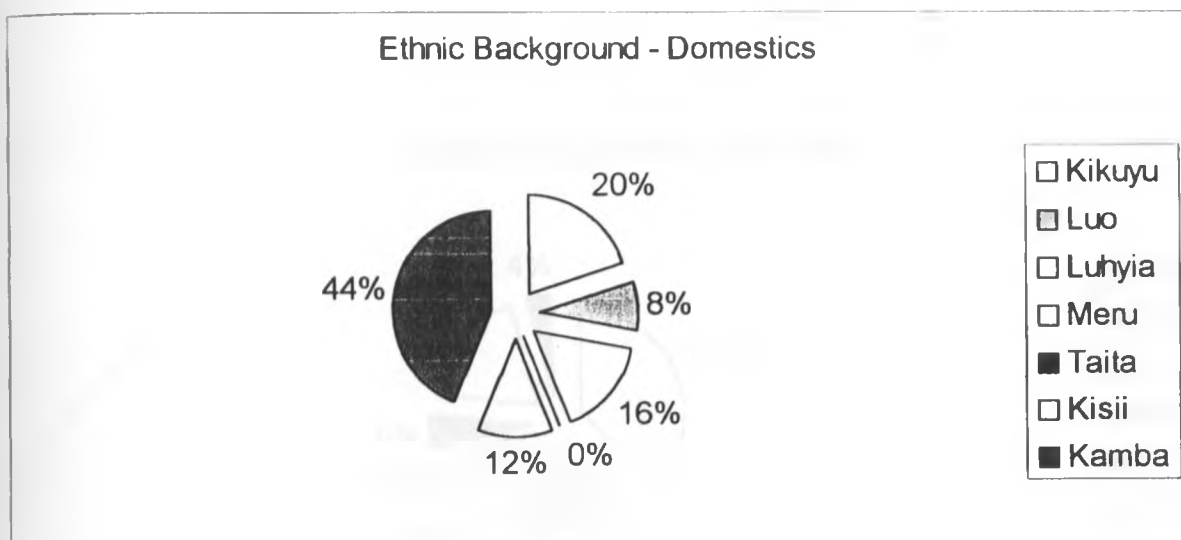


Figure 8. Ethnic Background of domestics

Figure 8 indicates that the highest number of domestics (44%) come from the Luo community with the Kikuyu coming next with 20% of domestics coming from that community. The Kisii and Luhya also have significant representation at 12% and 16% respectively. Luo domestics are highly favoured even in non-Luo households particularly because of their perceived dedication and faithfulness to a particular employer. Majority of Luo children and youth leave their homes in search of better and

more favourable environmental backgrounds primarily to assure their survival.

Kithaka (2005), notes that the domestics' ethnic background also contributes greatly to intra house relations. Kamba and Luhya domestics as well as those from Tanzania are considered to be dedicated, hardworking and respectful. Requests for workers from a particular ethnic origin may be based on ethnic stereotypes about the personal characteristics of workers from that ethnic community

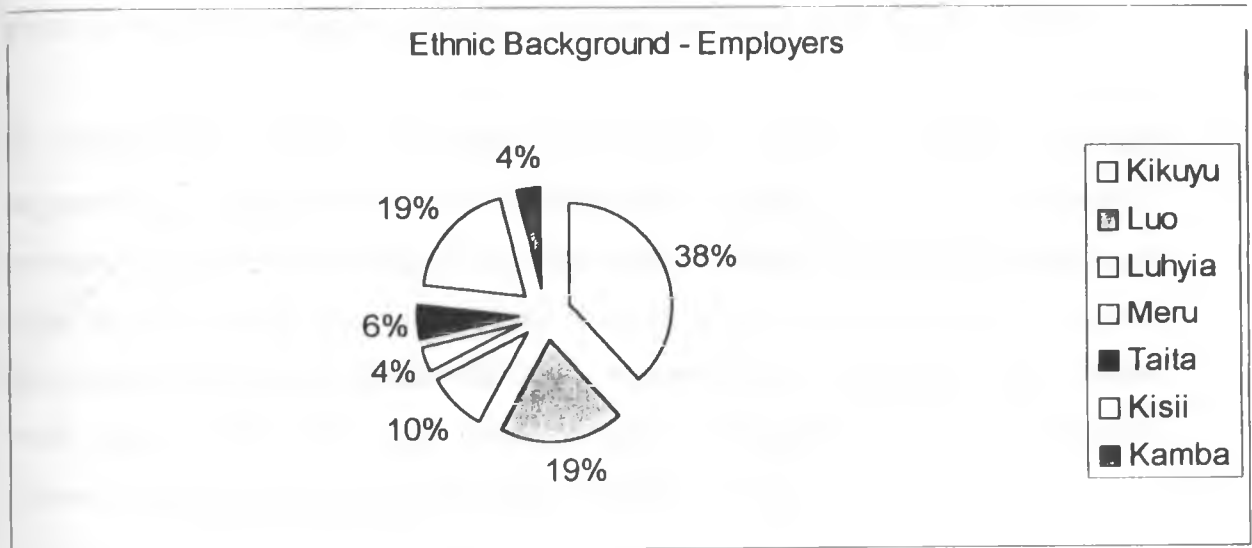


Figure 9. Ethnic Background of Employers

By contrast, figure 9 indicates that the majority of employers (38%) are Kikuyu, with the Kisii and Luo both at 19%. The Kamba only comprise 4% of respondent employers. Embakasi is a predominantly Kikuyu zone particularly because, majority of Kikuyu own residential and rental property.

According to UNICEF's Innocenti Digest (1999), in sub-Saharan Africa, it is common to find that urban child domestic workers come from a particular area or tribal group, often one inhabiting an area subject to out-migration because of population, environmental and socioeconomic pressure and/or are from poor, often large, rural families. Here, as elsewhere, distances between the natal home and the place of work are typically expanding. Breakdowns in traditional family systems through changing social structures, upheaval or war can increase the possibility of children becoming domestic workers. Moreover, ethnic conflict has left many children displaced or abandoned and consequently easy prey for 'job placement agents' who pick them up on the streets, in villages or even from within refugee camps, and then sell them into employment.

In some South Asian countries, particular religious or ethnic groups regarded as subservient have traditionally supplied others with domestic workers. In India and Nepal, for example, children of low-status groups may be 'bonded' to an employer to work as domestic workers. In post-genocide Rwanda, 200,000-400,000 children lived in families other than their own in 1997 with most children being obliged to work, including in some cases as housemaids (Innocenti Digest 1999).

Domestic work interferes with education since domestics drop early so as to start working in places normally far from their homes.

In Hong Kong in the 1980s, 75% of legal migrant admissions were for domestic workers. In southern Africa, live-in domestic work is now the major occupation for unskilled migrants (Anderson 2001).

4.2.1.4 SALARIES AND WAGES

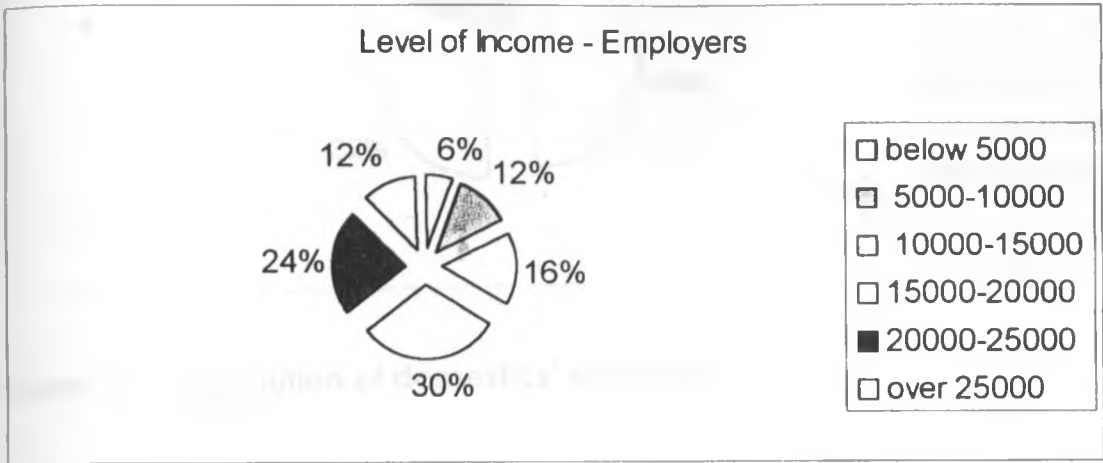


Figure 10. Distribution of employers' earnings

The level of employers' income was crucial to illustrate the inequalities existing between the two groups of workers.

Most employers (30%) earn between Kshs 15,000 and Kshs 20,000. 24% earn a little higher at between Kshs 20,000 and Kshs 25,000, while 12% earn over Kshs 25,000. When these earnings are compared to those of domestics, it is a clear indication that there are great inequalities between employers (majority of whom are women) and domestics (majority of whom are female).

Salary - domestics

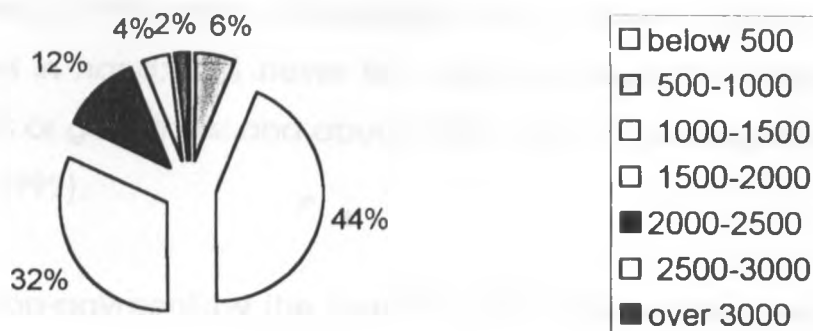


Figure 11. Distribution of domestics' earnings

Majority (44%) of the domestics earned between Kshs.1000 to Kshs 1500 while those earning between Kshs. 1500 to Kshs 2000 were 32%. Only about 2% earned more than Kshs. 3000.

Many domestics do not handle their earnings; some are unpaid or their earnings are commonly given to parents or people often referred to as 'aunties', but who in reality are unrelated recruitment agents. They must therefore depend on their employers for even their most private needs. Some however devise survival strategies such as engaging in illicit relationships with different people such as the males in the household and /or neighbourhood. In extreme cases, some domestics resort to petty theft within the households they work or even within the neighbourhoods.

How and whether children are paid is also a factor. According to the Innocenti Digest 1999, in Rwanda, a 1997 Ministry of Labour study found that domestic workers, primarily girls aged 10 to 14, earn the equivalent of \$4 a month. They work seven days a week from 5 a.m. to 9 p.m., with an

entitlement, usually unclaimed, to one family visit per year. Their pay is generally sent home and is often used to pay their siblings' school fees. Similarly in Bangladesh, a 1998 survey of domestics identified only 16% who received their wages in hand; 45% never saw their wages, which were given over to parents or guardians; and about 25% received no wages at all (Innocenti Digest 1999).

Employers justified non-payment by the benefits they believed accrued to the children and their families, including, in some cases, a promise to contribute to the girl's wedding expenses. Average earnings for child domestics in Dhaka are *Taka* 150 per month (roughly \$3), or about a sixth of what adult domestics are paid. Interestingly, upper middle class families were found to pay the lowest wages to child domestics. Eleven percent of Kenya's child domestic workers aged 10 years old are paid less than Kshs 1,000.00 (ILO - IPEC 1998).

The 1999 Kenya Population and Housing Census analytical report on gender dimensions indicates that many other child domestics work for little or no pay. 78% of child domestics were also only paid 'in kind' while enduring isolation from their families, and many suffering psychological, physical, or sexual abuse.

The 1999 Kenya Population and Housing Census revealed that of the total population in Nairobi that was categorized as working for pay, 7 percent were aged 5- 14 years whereas 19 percent were aged 15-19 years (Kenya, 2002). This implies that the youth aged less than 20 years accounted for 26 percent of people working for pay in Nairobi. Since most of these people are not likely to have completed their formal

education, it is anybody's guess that these children and youths were engaged in exploitative work including household domestic work.

Where employers withhold wages, the child's ties to the household are increased. Many employers withhold payment of wages making it difficult for girls to escape from abusive situations. In Nepal, it is not uncommon for employers to 'look after' the child's wages, promising to convert them into gold or jewellery as a wedding dowry. The child may never see the money (Innocenti Digest 1999).

Domestic workers especially children may also find their wages being docked in lieu of recruitment fees or for travel expenses. In Paraguay, where discrimination against indigenous populations is severe despite model laws, it was found that young indigenous domestics were paid "either in kind or half as much as other women". In the severest of cases, child domestics can find themselves bonded to an employer to pay off debts incurred by their parents. This practice has been well documented in India, where a survey found that children from villages are sent by parents to towns and cities to work as domestics, while the wages are paid directly to the parents of the child. They may be kept in bondage until a debt is cleared (Innocenti Digest, 1999).

Domestics are overworked at tedious and exhausting jobs for very low wages and in some instances, no pay. Many employers believe that the situation of these children is good compared to the conditions they would face in their own homes. They may use this justification to pay the child in kind, i.e. by providing them with food and a place to sleep. Some employers will pay the child's salary directly to another adult, such as the

child's parents, guardian or a recruitment agent that found them employment (Innocenti Digest 1999).

Women who are not working outside the home often employ paid domestics. Domestic workers facilitate middle class women's participation in community and voluntary sector- work whether in the North or South. A study of domestic workers in South Africa during the apartheid era indicates that the employment of a domestic worker facilitated leisure activities and a high-status lifestyle (Cock 1989). In Taiwan, a government recruitment program for overseas domestic workers was halted in 1995, because only 11% of 13,286 women who had been given licenses to hire domestic workers had entered the job market (Anderson 1997).

4.2.2. TERMS OF EMPLOYMENT

The terms of employment of domestic workers are a reflection of the social, cultural and economic factors that have put them in exchange for taking part in a family's household work, receiving board and lodging, and /or education and care. Domestic work is not finite task to be divided fairly or delegated. Paid domestic workers are required to work to far higher standards than employers themselves would meet. Here, the researcher looks at the terms of employment as recruitment, induction, supervision, eating and sleeping arrangements

4.2.2.1. Recruitment

Sixty percent of employers source their domestics from bureaus. Bureaus have fewer restrictions than training facilities and provide a wide variety of domestics to choose from. The contracts signed at bureaus have several

loopholes both to the disadvantage of employers and domestics. They neither screen the potential employers nor do they categorize the domestics in terms of age, experience and salary expectations and most bureaus operate on an illegal but profit-making basis. Sourcing and securing employment requires that the employer and domestic meet a recruitment fee before the signing of the contract. However, 32% of employers sourced their domestics from upcountry since these are

RECRUITMENT SOURCES

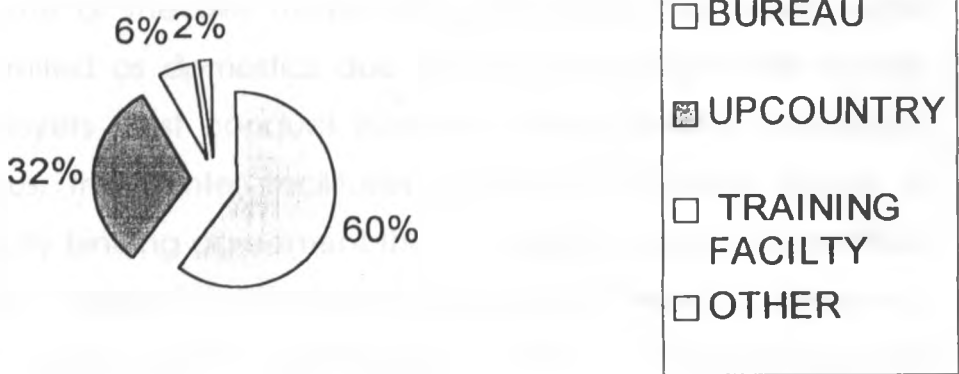


Figure 12: Where employers obtained their domestics

believed to be more reliable and unexposed to urban life. Similarly, domestics from upcountry are malleable as well as vulnerable to exploitation besides being cheap to hire. Only about 6% of employers obtain domestics from training facilities that offer diversified training. These are legalized centers working within the legal framework and look out for the interests of both employers and domestics. Their work contracts spell out terms of employment including working hours, time off, salary, duties and responsibilities and violence at the workplace. While they require that an employer pay a recruitment fee, the domestics are not required to meet this fee. They screen both the domestics before training and the

potential employers before they can sign the contract. A domestic who has their work contract contravened is also able to seek redress from the training facility.

The Nairobi Girls Training Centre (NGTC) of the Salvation Army, offers such an approach. It targets girls who have dropped out of school or those who have completed secondary education and cannot afford tertiary education. Once recruited, the girls undergo an all round two-year intensive training in catering, home management, childcare, first aid, tailoring, knitting, crocheting, embroidery skills and hairdressing. Upon graduation, some of the girls move on to start small businesses, while others are recruited as domestics due to high demand at the center. Potential employers must conduct interviews with potential domestics. Upon consensus, the center facilitates recruitment through signing in triplicate a legally binding agreement that stipulates terms and conditions of employment. Unlike the agreements signed at most employment bureaus, NGTC spells out the starting salary with a 10% recommended annual increment, provision of working uniform, mandatory one day off per week, one month's notice or pay in lieu of notice from either party upon termination of service. Similarly, the employer must officially hand over the domestic back to the center upon termination of her services contrary to other arrangement where an employer can irregularly dismiss a domestic or a domestic can leave employment in an arbitrary manner.

In the west, domestics are well trained and closely scrutinized before any job offer is made; Kenya lacks any comprehensive and extensive training of this vital work force. With the exception of scattered efforts by different groups many domestics get in to employment with no training.

RECRUITMENT - WHO RECRUITS

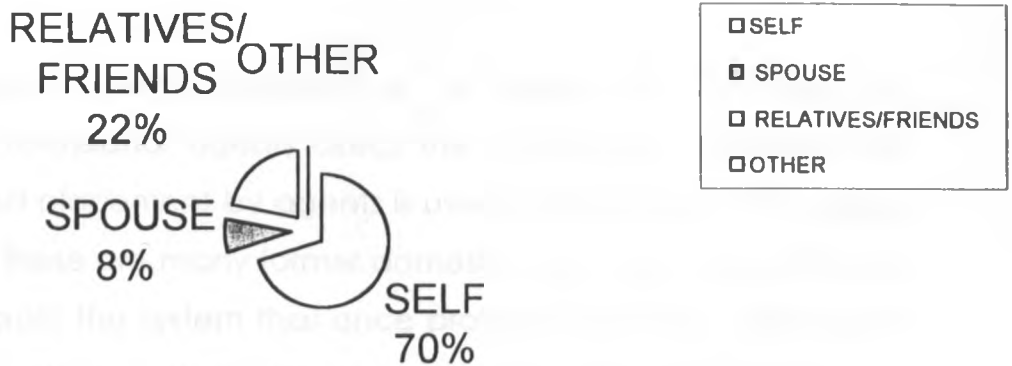


Figure 13: recruitment of domestics

Employer respondents were asked who recruits domestics in their households and a significant number – 70% (all women) reported that they recruited the domestic themselves. 22% of the respondents reported relying on relatives and friends to do the recruitment for them. In instances where men were the respondents, they reported that their spouses were responsible for recruiting domestics. It therefore emerges that in all instances women were overwhelmingly responsible for the recruitment of domestics.

Recruitment of domestic workers occurs — within and across borders. In most countries, internal recruitment from rural to urban areas is common. Cross-border recruitment, instead, occurs mainly between neighbouring countries. Children, whose ages range from 8 to 14, tend to be moved in

groups from their rural villages. Reports from Togo have documented the extremely difficult conditions they endure as they then travel, crushed together in lorries or boats, to Gabon and Nigeria. Some domestics are sent as far as the Middle East and Europe (Innocenti Digest, 1999).

Driving the growth of recruitment is a burgeoning number of intermediaries. Professional agents direct the clandestine networks, but procurement and placement by agents is usually improvised with various players. Among these are many former domestics who have thus found a way to turn to profit the system that once profited from them. Siblings or friends already working as domestics as well as their extended families, or through an employer's links to other parts of the country may similarly recruit domestics informally (Innocenti Digest, 1999).

Recruitment may involve forced labour and the proximity of adults - parents or surrogates — who can protect the child also has a bearing, so does the child's distance from home and whether or not he or she has crossed borders. Domestic workers in provincial towns and cities tend to have much more family contact than those living further from their homes in the capital, - thereby reducing the domestic's vulnerability (Innocenti Digest, 1999).

In cases where domestics must travel long distances in the care of recruiters, the recruited domestic is dependent on the recruiter for his or her current well-being and future situation. Even family ties, however, can fail to secure the well being of children recruited in this way.

INDUCTION OF DOMESTIC - HOW



Figure 14. How domestics were inducted

Once a domestic comes to work in the house, they are allocated or given a rundown of the duties they are expected to carry out. However, 90% of employers induct their domestics by rules and only 10% induct them through demonstration of how exactly they want them to carry out their duties.

INDUCTION - WHO



Figure 15. Who inducted the domestics

Respondents (80%) were largely responsible for inducting the domestic with 10% of spouses (where respondents were men) contributing to the induction of domestics.

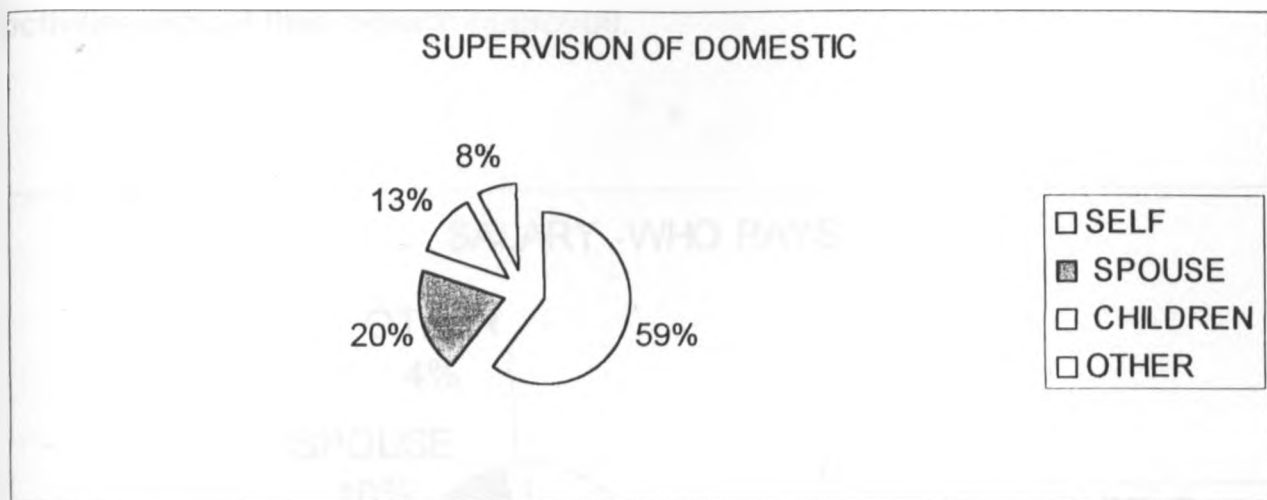


Figure 16. Supervision of domestics

Fifty nine percent of employers supervised the domestic while 20% of spouses did the supervision. Children were also charged with supervising domestics (13%) with only 8% of other persons including relatives and friends in charge of supervision.

All respondents agreed that the duties and responsibilities were varied though in all households they had to cook, do the washing and general housekeeping. Only in households where children were older than five did domestics not have to baby-sit.

From all domestic respondents interviewed, they received little help from the rest of the household members with the exception of the female household head especially in households with children below five years. In some households though, children (as young as 5 years), helped out

though intermittently and only when the children wanted special favours (such as provision of goodies such as sweets for the very young, conspiring against parents for the older ones especially when they wanted to visit their friends especially of the opposite sex or sneak out to attend social activities without their parents approval).

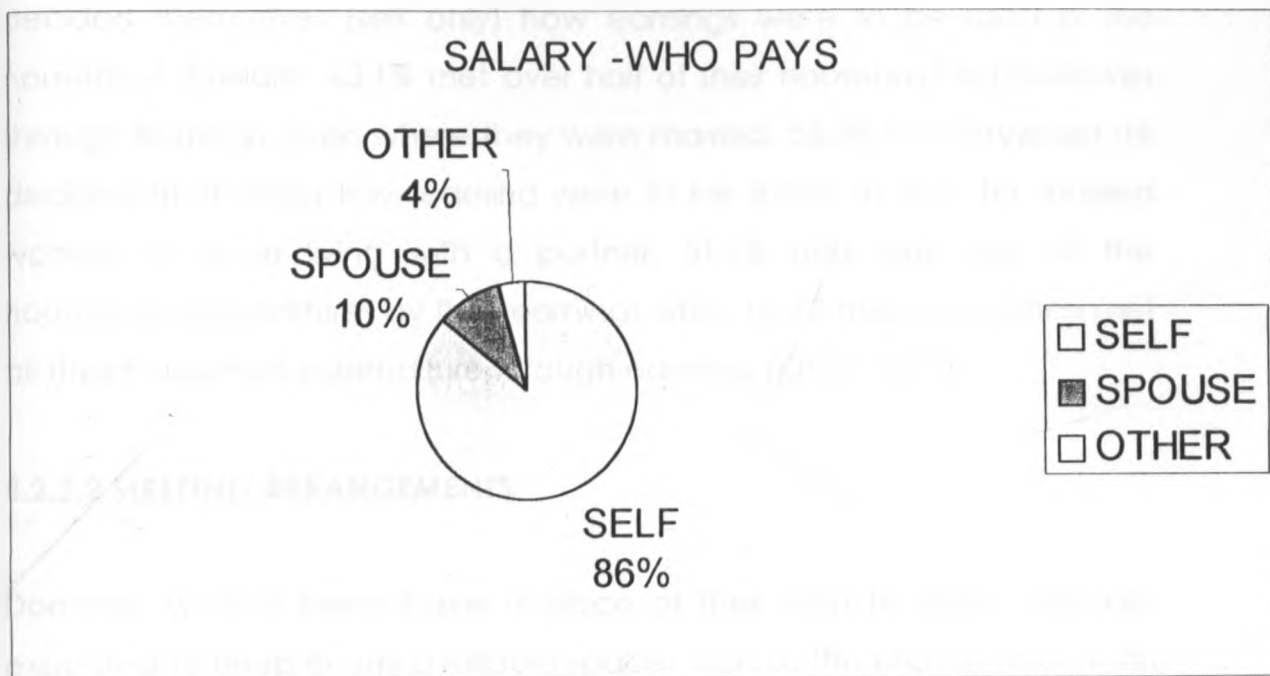


Figure 17. Proportion of who paid the domestic in the household

When asked who paid domestics in their households, 86% of the respondents reported that they paid the domestic themselves while 10% said that their spouses paid the domestic. Only 4% said that another person (employed child, relative or friend) paid the domestic other than the household head or their spouse. While the source of the money for payment did not always originate with the person who made the actual payment, it is clear that women possessed the final authority on payment

of domestics (see figures 23 & 24). Essentially this is crucial for maintenance of hierarchy within households. Though their spouses may have contributed money to facilitate such payments (figure 23 & 24), the decision as to when or how to pay the domestic rested with the female household head.

However, according to the KHDS (2003), 80.6% of women in Nairobi decided themselves (self only) how earnings were to be used in the household. Similarly, 43.1% met over half of their household expenditures through earnings. Even where they were married, 53.3% (countrywide) still decided themselves how earnings were to be spent. In fact, for married women or those living with a partner, 51.7% met over half of the household expenditures by their earnings while 16.2% married women met all their household expenditure through earnings (KHDS, 2003).

4.2.2.2 SLEEPING ARRANGEMENTS

Domestic workers rarely have a place of their own to sleep, and are expected to sleep in any available space, such as the kitchen floor or on the bedroom floor of their employers' children.

When respondents were asked about sleeping arrangements for their domestics, 74% reported that their domestics shared a room with their child or children while 8% reported that the domestic slept in the living/sitting room mainly due to constraints in space. Only 5% reported that their domestics slept in the kitchen with 13% allocating a room to their domestic.

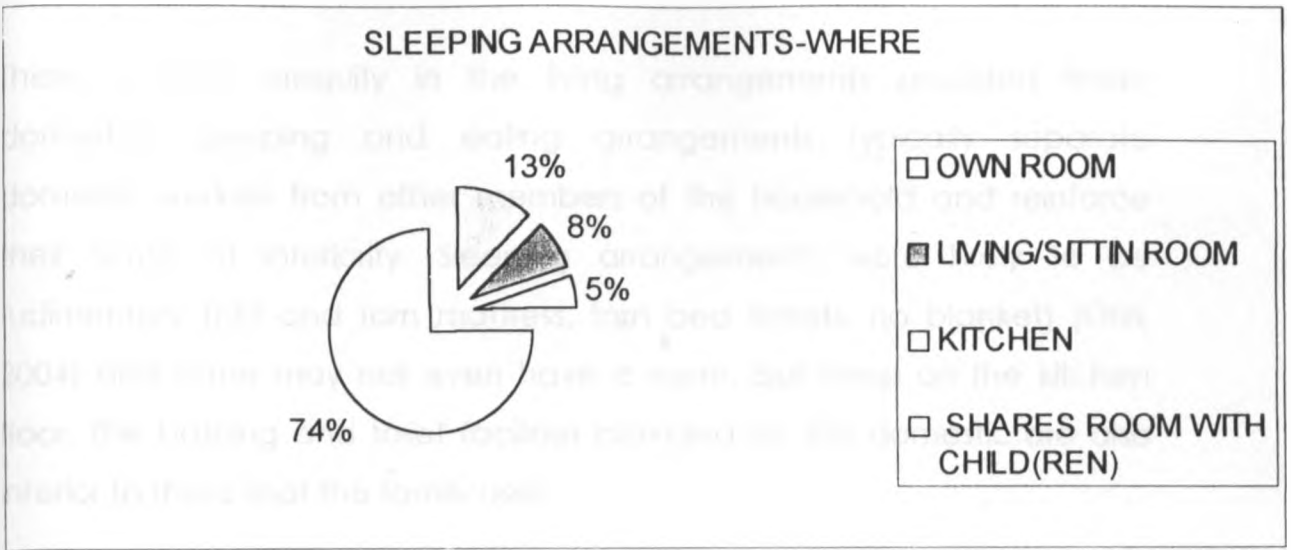


Figure 18. Distribution of domestics' sleeping arrangements

Decisions about sleeping arrangements were mainly made by the employer (70%) while a spouse is represented by only 24%. In instances where the domestic decided on where to sleep (6%), it emerged that she or he worked only part time and hence spent nights away from the employer's house.

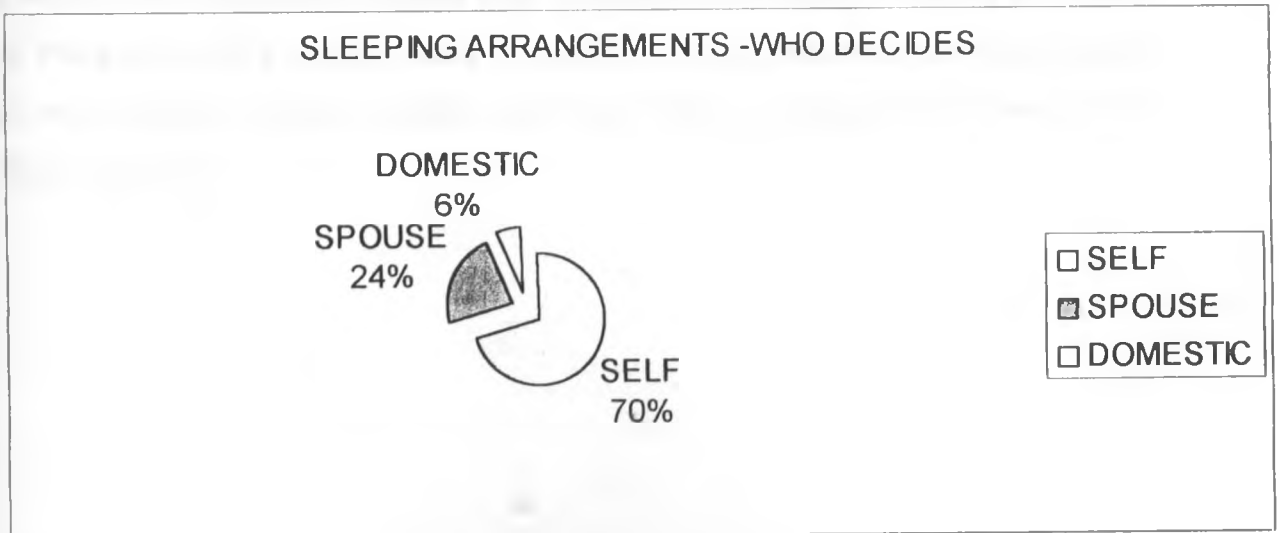


Figure 19. Distribution of decision makers on sleeping arrangements

There is often inequity in the living arrangements provided these domestics. Sleeping and eating arrangements typically separate domestic workers from other members of the household and reinforce their sense of inferiority. Sleeping arrangements were likely to be rudimentary (old and torn mattress, torn bed sheets, no blanket) (Otit, 2004) and some may not even have a room, but sleep on the kitchen floor. The bathing and toilet facilities provided for the domestic are also inferior to those that the family uses.

4.2.2.3 EATING PATTERNS

In most of the households, most domestics (48%) took their meals with the rest of the family while 32% took their meals after the rest of the household members. At breakfast, for example, they must serve the family first and complete a number of tasks before they are allowed to eat.

Only about 20% took their meals before the rest of the household and this is where the domestic worked only part-time and did not spend the night at the employer's house. Many domestic workers reported how they have to eat different, lower quality, food from their employers and the rest of the household.

EATING PATTERNS



Figure 20. Distribution of when domestics take their meals

Regardless of when they took their meals, 56% of domestics took their meals in the kitchen. 30% took their meals in the living/sitting room while 14% took their meals in their own rooms. However most domestics eat leftovers and/or may not eat certain food items (such as sugar, milk, bread, fruits, meat) (Otit, 2004). Although domestics do the cooking, they may be expected to eat smaller portions or to eat the leftovers when the family has finished, leaving them poorly nourished.

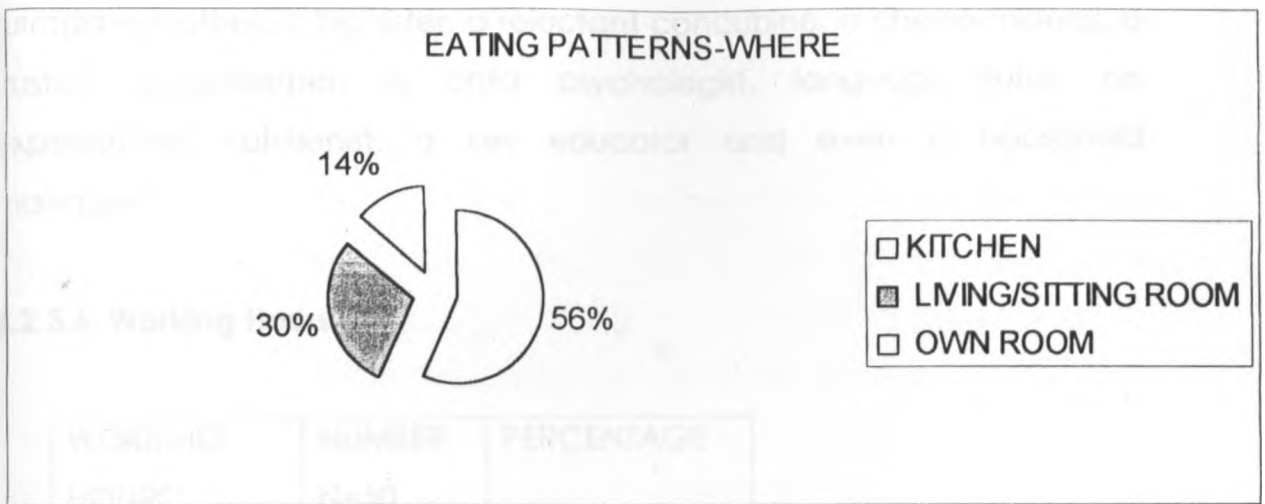


Figure 21. Distribution of where domestics take their meals.

4.2.3.5. Duties and responsibilities

Within every household, a wide variety of domestic tasks need to be undertaken: cleaning, laundry, and food preparation, cooking, shopping and looking after young children.

Typical tasks include cooking, washing and ironing of clothes for the family, cleaning, shopping, and looking after the employers' children — including escorting them to and from school and carrying their bags. Specific duties of a domestic worker could include taking care of other children or babies Washing and pressing clothes (in all weather), Cooking with electric or gas cookers, fuel or firewood, washing dishes Babysitting (young children are often expected to take care of babies) House cleaning (including cleaning toilets without proper protective gear such as boots and gloves) ironing Cleaning and polishing shoes.

Domestics perform a myriad of duties and responsibilities to the different people within a household. In fact, Oyunga (2004) notes that a maid is "a

surrogate mother, a big sister, a reluctant concubine, a cheap mistress, a trusted housekeeper, a child psychologist, language tutor, an experienced nutritionist, a sex educator and even a household manager”.

4.2.3.6. Working Hours

WORKING HOURS	NUMBER N=50	PERCENTAGE
5 A.M. - 9 P.M. 16HRS	13	26
6 A.M. - 9 P.M. 15HRS	25	50
4 A.M. - 9P.M 17HRS	12	24

Table 1. Working hours for domestics

Typically, there are no specified hours or tasks allocated to domestic workers. They do what their employer asks them to, at any time of day or night. Both the 24-hour nature of the job and the type of household tasks assigned to domestic workers has been well documented in existing studies. They are often the first ones to rise in the morning and the last to go to bed at night. Young domestic workers can have an average of a 12- to 18-hour workday in private homes with no rest periods and can still be on call to perform errands during the night. A workday could begin as early as 5:00 to 6:00 and finish at 21:00 to 22:00. If caught sleeping on the job, they are disciplined (Innocenti Digest, 1999).

In Bangladesh, Indonesia, Pakistan and the Philippines, domestic workers spend on average 15 hours or more working each day, seven days a week, and are generally on-call day and night. Hours of work tend to be long. The Domestic Workers Union in Zimbabwe reports as much as 10-15 hours of work per day; a survey in Morocco found that 72 per cent of the children started their working day before 7 a.m. and 65 per cent went to bed after 11 p.m. Once employed as domestic workers in Malaysia, Indonesian girls and women typically work sixteen-hour day, seven days a week, with no overtime pay and with no scheduled rest (Innocenti Digest 1999).

4.2.3.7. LEISURE AND REST

Majority of employers 70% gave their domestics time off with only about 30% not allowing their domestics off.

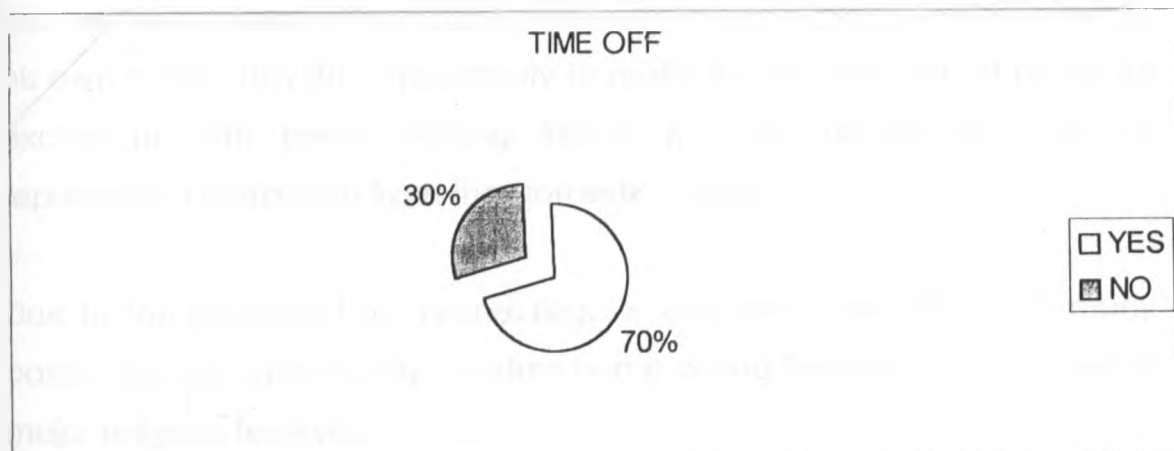


Figure 22: Proportion of Employers who gave their domestics time off

Employers who gave their domestics time off mainly on Sundays for a few hours ranging from 10.00 a.m. to 5.00 p.m. Those not allowing their domestics off felt that if they had recruited a domestic from upcountry, she or he is unlikely to have anyone or anywhere to visit. Others felt that,

since their domestic worked part-time, they did not merit time off. Others simply did not allow their domestics time off simply because they did not ask for it.

The nature of their work isolates them from the outside, hindering any opportunity to make friends and subjects them to oppression by the employer. They are often forbidden to go out of the house except when necessary for certain household duties. All employers did not allow their domestics time off to interact with other domestics, neighbours, friends or relatives while on duty. Employers felt that domestics were likely to fall into bad company, perform inadequately at their duties and responsibilities and /or spread intra household relations to outsiders.

Domestic workers spend almost all of their time inside employers' households and, even if they have time off during a day, are commonly not allowed to leave the house. The live-in domestic is cut off from her or his own family, has little opportunity to make friends, and almost no social exchange with peers. Having friends is often discouraged as this represents a distraction from the domestic's duties.

Due to the distance from home, regular visits are often difficult. In many cases, the only opportunity to return home during the year is at the time of major religious festivals.

Domestic workers in Malaysia are not allowed outside of the house and many reported they were unable to write letters home, make phone calls, or practice their religion. Rest periods during the day are virtually non-existent. Holidays are also a scarcity and may consist of only one visit

home per year. Long, exhausting workdays with no rest also denies the child the right to play and to attend school.

4.3. HOUSEHOLD RELATIONS

All households relate differently with each displaying notable variations. The employer and/or other substitute heads relate differently towards the domestic worker while the children relate with the domestics in a somewhat similar manner to that of the adults within the household. A house girl/boy for instance is not supposed to speak to the "house head" without being spoken to first. The arguments here being are that the house help is not up to their standard. The children also do not expect the domestic to speak back to them especially if it is within the parents' earshot. Similarly the maid is perpetually devising means of keeping from the female house head's wrath. In fact in most instances the house help greatest obstacle to progress is the female employer.

Most intra household conflicts involving domestics emerge from misunderstandings arising between the head of the household especially the female head and the domestic. Most relations between a domestic and the female head are often characterized by tension yet thrive only on tolerance (Kithaka 2005). Marital relations have similarly not been spared the blight of infidelity especially where female domestics become involved romantically and/or sexually with the male house head. Many times, the female domestic is also very likely her employer's co wife (Fapohunda 1982; Kithaka 2005). Similarly, most domestics carry on with any other males such as children, relatives or friends living in the households where they work.

Households with very young children are governed by a set of strict rules and restrictions such as limited or nonexistent visitation rights, longer working hours with poor remunerations as opposed to those with much older children. However the presence of older children may further compound household relations especially where the children assume the role of the employing household head.

4.3.1. HOUSEHOLD HEADSHIP.

Households are bargaining units in which men and women play different roles and have different responsibilities. However, when women have access to an independent source of income, it opens up the possibility of the renegotiation of some aspects of household relations (Roldan, 1988) In households, money enters through wages and salaries or as a dribble of profits in the case of the self-employed. It leaves as cash paying for a whole range of household expenditure with small amounts put aside as savings in a few cases. Resource allocation in most households follows the pool pattern or common fund where both partners contribute to cover basic household expenditure (Roldan 1988).

In all households surveyed, the head of the household was male with the exception of households where respondents were single either through choice, separation, divorce or widowhood.

4.3.2. HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION

The importance of analysis of the household composition lies in the fact that characteristics of households have profound influence on the intra household relations of the members including domestics working there.

The average number of persons in a household was six with every household having at least one parent, children and a domestic. In households where there were higher numbers of persons resident, additional members included relatives and/or friends.

Children contribute much to the work for domestics and the ages of the resident children determines the type, quality of work as well as the competence of the domestic. Eleven percent of children in households were aged below one while the highest proportion (29%) was that of children aged between five and ten as compared to a significant number (26%) of those aged one and five.

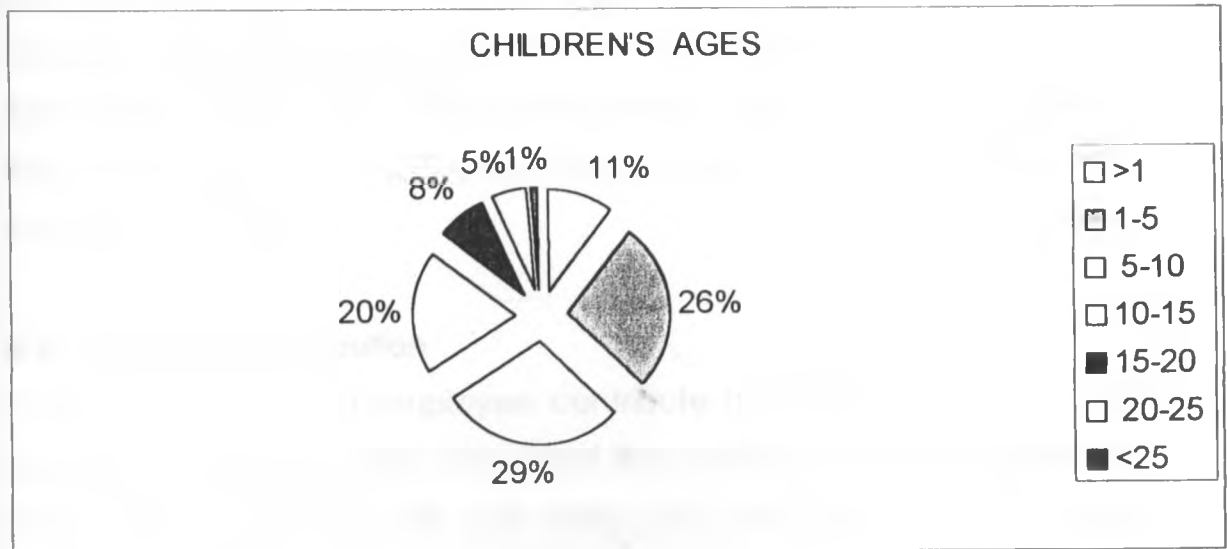


Figure 23. Distribution of children in households by age

4.3.1.4 DECISION MAKING

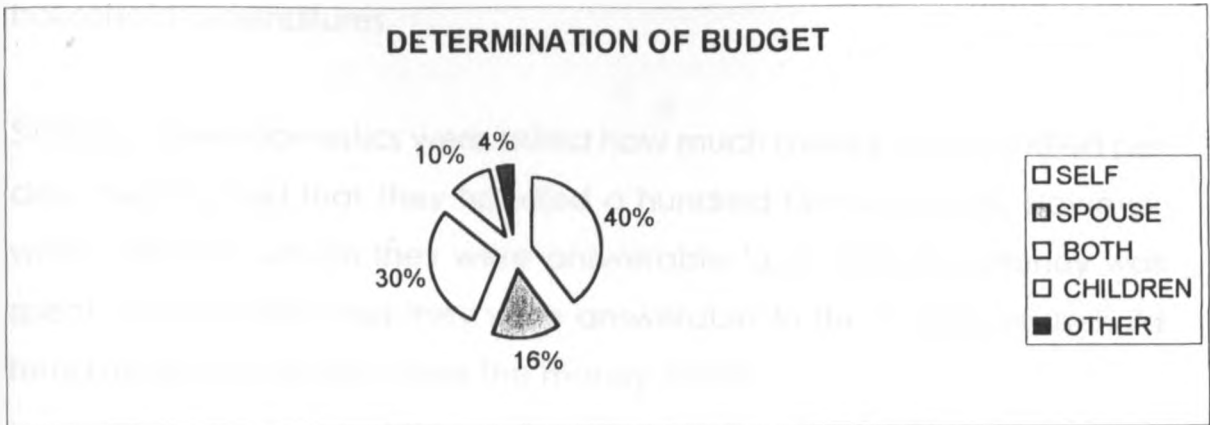


Figure 24. Distribution of household members' decision making

In all households surveyed, the respondent (self) was the prime determiner (40%) of the household budget. However in 30% of the households both partners were responsible for the determination of the budget. In 16% of the households the spouse was responsible for determining the budget.

This compares favorably with the KHDS (2003), where, two in three wage working women decide themselves how their earnings will be spent, while 23% make the decision jointly with someone else. For those married or living with a partner, 53.3% made the decision alone and 12.9% with a husband or partner.

4.3.1.5. Budget contribution

Forty eight percent of employers contribute half (50) to their household budgets compared to 34% who meet the entire household budget (100). Only 18% of employers do not meet any costs (0) for the household budget.

According to the KHDS (2003), 43.1 % women contribute over half to the household expenditures, while 20.2% meet the entire household budget. For married women, only 3.8% contribute almost nothing or nothing to household expenditures.

Similarly, when domestics were asked how much money they handled per day, majority said that they handled a hundred Kenya shillings. However when asked to whom they were answerable to on how the money was spent, all domestics said they were answerable to the female household head regardless of who gave the money initially.

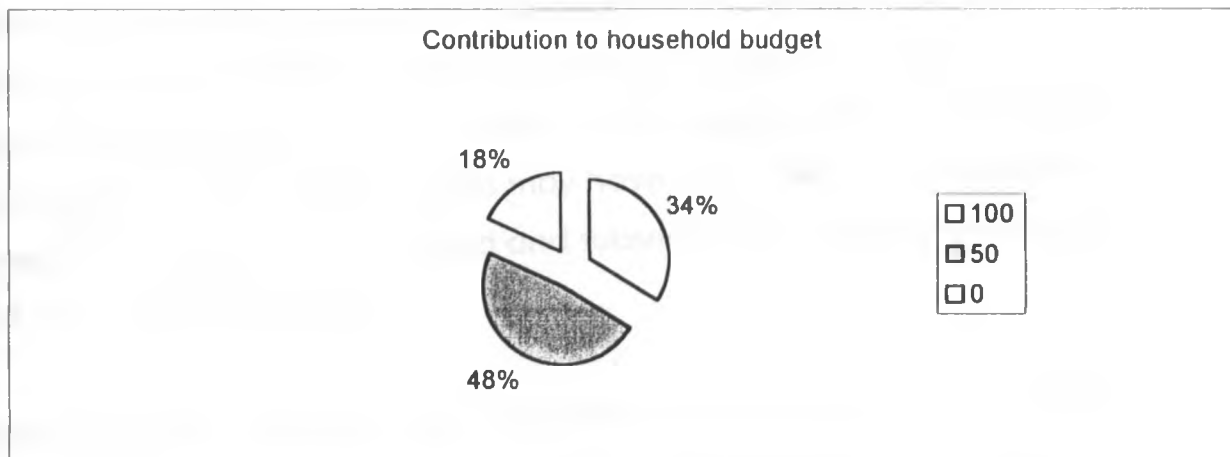


Figure 25: Contribution to household budget

4.3.1.6. Employers/Domestics Feelings, Attitudes and Perceptions of Domestic Labour

As much as domestics are a must have in almost all homes, there exist a love-hate relationship between employers and domestics. The lack of and /or the limitation of alternatives for both domestics and employers make it exceptionally difficult to do without the other.

Domestics and employers have internalized the misconception that domestic work is undignified and this is compounded by the inferior status and treatment given by the employers and their families. Many young girls may find themselves in domestic work as a circumstance of other personal hardships. Some either dropped out of school or completed only primary school. A trend in the breakdown of social and family structures may leave orphaned children with no other alternative but to work as domestics. Socially, some cultures may have a pre-determined labeling of one ethnic group as substandard and subservient to another hence more subject to domestic labour.

Most domestics manifest habits and traits that employers find offensive such as, exposing their employers intra household relations to neighbours, friends and relatives; spending time in bad company; failure to follow instructions; wearing the employers' clothes; inflicting various forms of abuse to children; competing for the male attention besides having sexual relations with the men in the household.

Domestics on the other hand resent the manner in which they are treated by employers and the rest of the household members. They are subjected to various forms of abuse, are poorly remunerated with some employers

withholding and /or delaying their salaries besides having to cope with numerous never-ending tasks.

Domestics have a high turnover and their work often characterized by unfair and irregular dismissals. On average, a domestic will have had several employers by the time they reach the age of twenty-five. Job turnover rate is quite high with dismissal cited as the most frequent reason for changing employment. Some domestics cite cruelty of employers as a reason for leaving, the most common being verbal abuse.

Live-in domestics are isolated and often do not have the opportunity to see their parents or other family members for very long periods of time.

4.4. GENDER BASED VIOLENCE

The inferior status that domestics carry into the households they work renders them extremely vulnerable to violence by the various household members.

VIOLENCE AS REPORTED BY THE EMPLOYER (N=50)							
NATURE OF ABUSE	VICTIM						
	MALE HEAD		FEMALE HEAD		CHILD (REN)		OTHER
PHYSICAL			5	10%	8	16%	
SEXUAL					6	12%	
VERBAL			7	14%	18	32%	
PSYCHOLOGICAL			5	10%	1	2%	
TOTAL (per perpetrator)			17	34%	33	66%	
N=50 (total questionnaires for employers)							

Table 2. Violence by the domestic

The domestic is however not without fault. While the domestic appears vulnerable especially with regard to the female head, the children in the household are extremely vulnerable where the domestic is concerned. Left in their care for longer periods than the can spend with their parents or other substitute guardians, children suffer greatly in the hands of domestics. They receive all the anger and frustrations that the domestic may and cannot vent onto the employer. 16 % of children were violated physically especially through beatings, hitting, pinching, shoving or pushing around, denying and restricting food intake. 12% were violated sexually especially through handling and mishandling of their genitalia and actual sexual intercourse (forced or otherwise). Domestics (14%) also verbally violated the female head especially in her absence but usually within the earshot or the children. In some extreme cases, domestics (10%) were reported to have physically violated the female head especially

when dismissed irregularly following disagreement, theft or their role in marital discord.

Ten percent of the female heads reported suffering psychological trauma following the discovery of sexual relations between the domestic and either the male head, children or other members resident in the household. The female heads also suffered psychologically following the discovery of other forms of violations especially to children with several developing fear of future domestics.

VIOLENCE AS REPORTED BY THE DOMESTIC (n=50)								
NATURE OF ABUSE	PERPETRATOR							
	MALE HEAD		FEMALE HEAD		CHILD (REN)		OTHER	
PHYSICAL	1	2%	3	6%				
SEXUAL	8	16%	0		5	10%	3	6%
VERBAL	-		20	40%	8	16%	1	2%
PSYCHOLOGICAL	-		1		-		-	
TOTAL (Per perpetrator)	9	18%	24	48%	13	26%	4	8%
N=50 (Total number of questionnaires for domestic)								

Table 3. Violence against the domestic

The female household head is however extremely culpable in these situations. 40% of domestics reported that the female head violated them verbally. They were often told that they were good for nothing and had little or no capacity to grasp or understand issues. The female head was similarly accused of constantly quarrelling and labeling the domestic.

However, 16% children were also accused of verbally violating the domestic. Children were accused of peddling lies to their parents so that the domestic was either scolded or even beaten. Some were even sent to bed hungry. In most households domestics have been variously labeled. They are called names like *mboch*, *housi*, *dome*, *msapere*, *maid*, *househelp* and *ayah*. Children mocked and often dismissed domestics as 'just a maid' (Otit, 2004).

The language of control/subordination reinforces differential power relations. Most domestics are required to address their employers as "madam/sir" or not to address them at all. However, they are addressed in terms reserved for children or inferiors. The domestic worker is usually the "house girl/boy", implying that the domestic worker is a perpetual child in need of guidance and supervision (Motsei, 1990).

The male head (16%) and other household male residents (6%) were similarly accused of sexually violating the domestic.

Physical violence was meted out against domestics by 6 % of the female heads especially in situations where they stole items from their employers or were suspected of having relationships (sexual or otherwise) with the males in the household.

Due to the various forms of violations that the domestics are exposed to within households, they suffer psychological abuse especially through loss of self-esteem and respect. Domestics reported suffering psychological abuse following unfair accusations and dismissal.

The lack of contractual agreement detailing the rights of the domestic as well as their terms of employment leaves them open to abuse and exploitation. All domestics regardless of their age should be protected against all form of violence, injustice and bad treatment, including and not limited to physical torture, harassment and sexual abuse.

Future Plans

Future Aspirations	Male (n=5)		Female n=45	
		%		%
School	2	40	2	4.44
Work (get a better job)	2	40	7	15.55
Business	1	20	15	33.33
Marriage	-		21	46.66

Table 4: Future Aspirations

Most domestics do not intend to continue being domestics for the rest of their lives. Most look forward to starting their own small businesses especially if they have some trade skill such as tailoring, masonry, plumbing or hairdressing. Others look forward to getting married and starting families.

According to Sinaga Women and Child Resource Centre (SWCRC), only 5.6% of surveyed girls actually wanted to remain ayahs or maids (Sinaga 2005). The alternative choices cited ranged from tailoring to becoming a

medical doctor. Sinaga is a training centre started in 1993 for the sole purpose of taking care of the needs of battered women and girls who are in need. The centre offers free education for young girls employed as domestic workers between the ages of seven and seventeen. Sinaga is a centre that offers hope and true to its meaning, strive to transform the girls for the better after their training. Offering informal education to the girls, they are sensitized on their rights. This helps them become informed people even in their state as domestic workers as the knowledge enables them negotiate on an informed platform with their employers.

Among the vocational opportunities Sinaga offers is tailoring, embroidery, arts and crafts, hair dressing, cookery among others. Sinaga targets girls in churches, water points and mosques where they talk to them about their services.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1. SUMMARY OF KEY FINDINGS

- Women were the major players in domestic work.
- More female (90%) than male respondents worked as domestics. Similarly, more women (87%) than men employed domestic labour. Most domestics (40%) are aged between 20-24 years. 44% have completed upper primary education compared to 24% who have lower primary education
- Due to lack of any legal reinforcement on their employers most (44%) earn between Kshs. 1500 and Kshs. 2000 per month.
- Domestics had a high turnover and their work was often characterized by unfair and irregular dismissals
- There were variations in sleeping and eating arrangements. Most domestics (48%) eat after the rest of the household and often in the kitchen.
- A higher proportion (74%) share a room with the employers' child(ren) as compared to 13% sleeping in their own room.
- Domestics perform numerous tasks ranging from cooking, washing, general housekeeping to baby-sitting. Sixty percent of employers recruit their domestics from bureaus. An overwhelming ninety

percent induct them through rules as opposed to ten percent inducting by demonstration.

- Sixty percent of employers sought their domestics from bureaus and inducted them through rules other than demonstration.
- Similarly, GBV occurring within households needs to be investigated thoroughly and proper interventions put in place. Training centers should similarly focus on this aspect during training and offer psychosocial and referral services for those who may be victims.
- Given the vulnerability of domestics, they are very often subjected to other exploitative working circumstances. The precariousness of their job makes them entirely dependent on their employer, even when the employer withholds payment, abuses and degrades the domestic. They suffer various forms of physical, emotional and sexual abuse by their employer. 10% female household heads physically abuse the domestic compared to 5% for the male household head.
- However, 8% of male household heads and a similar 8% of male children sexually abuse the domestics compared to 3% for other males (such as relatives or friends) living in the household. Female household heads are nevertheless culpable for verbally abusing domestics compared to 1% for the male head and 15% for the children.
- Some domestics are equally guilty of meting abuse onto their employers and their children. 5% of domestics physically abuse the

female employer and 26% of them physically abuse the employers' children. 13% of domestics verbally abuse the female household head and 32% verbally abuse children.

- Employers should recruit from reputable training centers and bureaus. It is equally important to obtain references and background of potential domestics. Once domestics start working, it is imperative to give clear job descriptions, train incoming domestics on household dynamic and regularly evaluate and appraise their work. (Otit, 2004)

5.2. RECOMMENDATIONS

This research proposed that domestic labour be regulated, particularly the working conditions, terms of employment and gender based violence. Employers and domestics alike must be willing to sign a legal contract upon employment that outlines duties, salary, working hours, dress code and conditions for dismissal (Kuria, 2005)

The most effective way of protecting domestic workers from abuse is in the first instance to treat domestic work as 'just another job', extending employment rights and a means of implementing those rights to these workers.

Domestic labour should adhere to principles of professional work; hence training should be a prerequisite to entry into the industry.

Gender based violence must begin to be addressed within the context of domestic work especially to protect child domestic workers who are most vulnerable.

Similarly the increasing demands for professional domestic labour may likewise open opportunities for training and hence wealth and income creation. There is need for a study to document how training opportunities can add professionalism to domestic labour.

In most cases the domestic is a school dropout mainly due to lack of school fees. Few have post secondary education while other have never been to school. Hence they enter into domestic labour as a last resort and for lack of a better alternative. Asked how long they intended to continue as domestics, most respondents replied until they were able to save enough money to enable them access some other training or start a small business.

By making domestic labour professional through provision of training prior to commencing domestic work is critical and beneficial to both the employer and the domestic. Besides making the undertaking of duties easier and more professional, the training offered offers future opportunities for domestics upon "retirement" from domestic labour.

5.3. CONCLUSION

While it is clear that domestic service is an intergral part of household labour systems, domestic work is not just another paid job. It differs from other forms of paid work in its very nature, and this makes a contractual relationship very problematic. Paid domestic work in private households highlights the fact that it is impossible to understand the work in isolation

from the worker. On a personal level, employers and workers, although they may both be women, have different interests. Their common womanhood is, not a factor that binds them together. In fact, it divides them, since gender issues interlink with economic class in different ways for them. Domestic workers are not interested in the concept of sisterhood as applied to themselves and their employers, and when asked what they have in common with female employers, the answer is typically "nothing" (Anderson, 2001).

Domestic labour in most cases involves children and youths who are forced to drop out of school and perhaps for the first time in their lives, may have been given a considerable burden of responsibility in moving to town to ensure and assure their own and family's survival. For most who come from poor backgrounds with little or no possibility of finding an affordable education, domestic work is a compelling survival strategy as opposed to a personal choice the secluded and discriminatory nature of their work takes its toll on the self-worth of a domestic.

In addition, they must come to terms with two contrasting economic, social, cultural and physical environments. In moving between rural to urban areas, domestics must seek also to adapt to life in an environment where pace of life may be faster than that which they are familiar with, the domestic servant may also face linguistic, religious and other cultural differences between place of origin and destination.

The precariousness of their job makes them entirely dependent on their employer, even when the employer withholds payment, abuses and degrades the domestic. Because domestic workers do not enjoy socio-economic recognition, most are not treated with the respect due to any

human being. They may suffer various forms of physical, emotional and sexual abuse by their employer. Child domestic workers are often expected to act as adults and take on unsupervised, repetitive and potentially dangerous chores. All of these factors deeply affect their socio-psychological development. Live-in domestics are isolated and often do not have the opportunity to see their parents or other family members for very long periods of time. Some get time off but even then, employers try to have the domestics do some before they can leave.

On average, a domestic will have had several employers by the time they reach twenty-five. Job turnover rate is quite high with dismissal cited as the most frequent reason for changing employment.

According to the county's legislation, domestic work is often not specifically recognized as illegal, which means that they have few protective laws to govern their working conditions. This category of workers is particularly difficult to reach as they are socially and perhaps even legally considered part of the employer's family and not as hired help. Written contracts for domestics are extremely rare and in the case of child domestic workers, they are non-existent. A domestic worker can be arbitrarily dismissed and if they have not received any pay, the repercussions to the employers' household's well-being could be irreparable.

Since most live with their employers they are under the control of their employers and for them work never really ends. It is very difficult to challenge their bosses since unlike other categories of workers; they must face their employers' alone. They attract no benefits like maternity and pension. When they can no longer perform, they must leave their jobs.

Because of this seclusion, they are unable to defend themselves against certain abuses and have less opportunity to organize themselves in trade unions.

Hence, domestic employees are the most oppressed classes of women all over the world. Domestic workers are overworked, underpaid and unprotected and are denied the opportunity to reach their full potential both physically and mentally. Nevertheless, it is clear that domestic service is an integral part of household labour systems.

In conclusion, this research found that domestic workers are overworked, underpaid and unprotected denying them the opportunity to reach their full potential.

Area of Further Research

Finally, further research should be carried out on how domestic labour can shift from the private sphere and into the public domain. There is need for empirical data that points to how domestic work whether performed by domestic workers or women working in their own households can contribute to the nation's gross domestic product and begin to be reflected in national employment statistics.

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CASE STUDY ONE

Kemunto* is nineteen years old and she has been a domestic for the last three years. However, this is her third employer. She was recruited from upcountry when a friend of hers introduced her to her current employer. Kemunto's employer lives in Umoja II, one of the estates within the expansive Embakasi division. She nevertheless works in Magadi, hence cannot come home on an everyday basis and therefore requires a mature domestic to take care of her young family during the periods of absence. Kemunto however interacts with her employers periodically, often to receive instructions on her responsibilities. Besides taking charge of two young children aged between one year and four, Kemunto must undertake other duties including and not limited to washing, cooking, and general housekeeping.

Since the male household head lives remains with the her, she must see to his needs such as preparing his meals and washing his clothes. Similarly she must wait up for him till he returns at night and see to his comfort.

Already a mother herself, Kemunto left her two-year-old child with her mother back home. She must however see to the needs of her employers' children including feeding, hygiene, medicare and their general development. After only six months with this employer, one of the children joins preschool. Kemunto must now see his changing needs. She must wake him early enough and get him ready for school. She must also pick up his snacks, drop and pick him from school and assist him with his homework when he returns.

Over the weekends, she must ensure she does her weekly chores such as general cleaning of the house. She must however not compromise her

church' teaching about working on the Sabbath. Gradually she introduces the children to her church since she they must accompany her when she goes to worship

Kemunto first earned Kshs 1600 with her current employer and now earns Kshs 2500 after being with her employer for nine months. However, she begins to change. She now visits friends while 'on duty; handles the children roughly and verbally insults them at the slightest provocation and begins to slip on her various responsibilities. Relatives and friends who visit alert her employer on these changes. Her employer returns one day unexpectedly, only to find Kemunto asleep while her duties pile up) Since she has no immediate replacement, she reprimands her and decides to keep her while she looks around for another domestic. Kemunto seeing that her employers' temperament has changed, she fears she may loose her job and plans her escape. As soon as the employer returns to her workstation, Kemunto takes off leaving the children without anyone to watch over them. She takes with her some her employers' clothes as well as those of the children.

Her employer returns home as a matter of urgency. She tries to trace Kemunto with the police help. Eventually, they catch up with her and manage to recover some of the lost items. Kemunto is dismissed and the search for a new domestic begins for her.

Case Study 2

Mildred* is a nurse living in Komarock with her three children, her husband and a two of her sisters' children (a nephew and a niece). The nature of her work demands that she leave the house very early or work night duty. Her children are aged between five years and thirteen years. While two of

her children go to school, the youngest stays home with the domestic. Her niece attends a college in the city centre while her nephew is staying with her while he looks for a job.

Mildred has had several domestics each staying only briefly before leaving her. She however has no idea why she has such a high turnover of domestics. Her current domestic is aged 23 years and has a child of her own back home. She is the longest serving domestic having worked for ten months.

One evening, just as Mildred is about to leave for night duty, her domestic tells her that she wishes to terminate her services immediately. Mildred is caught off guard and persuades the girl to stay till morning when she returns and they can have a talk. It is while she is trying to find out what is happening with the domestic that her youngest child blurts out;

"Daddy comes to our room at night when you are away and removes his clothes and sleeps in auntie's bed. Even John*(her nephew) sleeps in auntie's bed when you go to work during the day"

Shocked and embarrassed Mildred releases her domestic. She is traumatized that it had be her youngest child who broke the news. She vows never to employ any other domestic in her house henceforth.

***Names have been changed to protect and identity of the respondents**

APPENDIX II

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE DOMESTICS' QUESTIONNAIRE

Good morning/Afternoon.

My name is Betty Mugo and I am a student from the University of Nairobi carrying out research for my M.A. project in Gender and Development Studies. I am investigating the nature of household relations where domestics work. You have been selected to participate in this research and any information you will give will be highly confidential and will only be used in this academic exercise.

Can you participate in this exercise? Yes No

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

1. Sex Female Male

2. Place of Birth (specify) _____

3. Ethnic background
(specify) _____

4. Place of work _____

5. Age Below 10
 Between 10 – 14
 Between 15-19
 Between 20 – 25
 Between 25- 30
 Over 30

6. Marital Status

- Single
- Married/Cohabiting
- Separated
- Divorced
- Widowed

7. Number of Children (specify) _____

8. Level of Education

- None
- Lower Primary
- Upper Primary
- Secondary
- Tertiary Institution
- University

EMPLOYMENT

9. Is this your first job as a domestic? Yes No

If yes, why did you decide to work as a domestic?

If no, in how many other homes have you worked in?

10. When did you start working as a domestic?

11. Where did you start working as a domestic?

(Specify) _____

12. Is this your first job in Nairobi?

If yes, where in Nairobi did you start working?

13. How did you get your first job?

14. How have you secured your other jobs?

15. What is the longest period you have worked on one job?

16. How long have you been on your current job?

17. Do you intend to leave your current job?

If yes, how long do you intend you stay on your current job?

18. Why do you want to leave your current

job? _____

19. Will you look for another job?

If no, what do you intend to do when you leave your current job?

If yes, where will you look for another job? _____

PART TWO

WORKING CONDITIONS

20. How much do you earn?

Below Kshs 500

Between Kshs 500- Shs 1000

Between Kshs 1000 – Shs 1500

Between Kshs 1500 – Shs 2000

Between Kshs 2000- Shs 2500

Above Kshs 3000

21. How long have you been earning this amount?

22. How much did you earn when you first started working?

(Specify) _____

23. How much do you aspire to earn?

24. Has your employer promised a raise?

If no, do you know why? _____

If yes, how much will the raise be? _____

25. Do you know how much other domestics

earn? _____

If yes, how much do they earn? _____

26. Do you live with your employer?

If no, how many days do you work in a month?

How much do you earn per day?

If yes, what are your working hours? _____

27. Where do you sleep?

In my own room

Share a room with my employer's children

In the living/sitting room

In the kitchen

28. Do you share a bed with anyone?

29. If yes, with whom do share a bed with?

30. Do you perform multiple duties or single duties?

If single, what do your duties entail?

Laundry

Housekeeping

Cooking

Shopping/running errands

Babysitting

31. Do you get any assistance from other members of the household?

Yes

No

If yes, who helps out most?

32. Do you handle money in that household?

If yes, how much do you handle per day?

33. Who gives you the money you handle?

Female household head

Male household head

Both

34. Who are you answerable to about how you spend that money?

Female household head

Male household head

Both

35. Have you assaulted or abused any member of the household where you have worked? Yes No

If yes, what was the nature of the abuse and who was the victim?

<u>Abuse</u>	<u>Victim</u>			
Physical Abuse	Male head <input type="checkbox"/>	Female head <input type="checkbox"/>	Children <input type="checkbox"/>	Other <input type="checkbox"/>
Sexual Abuse	Male head <input type="checkbox"/>	Female head <input type="checkbox"/>	Children <input type="checkbox"/>	Other <input type="checkbox"/>
Verbal Abuse	Male head <input type="checkbox"/>	Female head <input type="checkbox"/>	Children <input type="checkbox"/>	Other <input type="checkbox"/>
Psychological Abuse	Male head <input type="checkbox"/>	Female head <input type="checkbox"/>	Children <input type="checkbox"/>	Other <input type="checkbox"/>

36. Have you ever been assaulted or abused by your employer or other members of

the household where you have worked? Yes No

If yes, match the nature of the abuse with the perpetrator

<u>Abuse</u>	<u>Perpetrator</u>			
Physical Abuse	Male head <input type="checkbox"/>	Female head <input type="checkbox"/>	Children <input type="checkbox"/>	Other <input type="checkbox"/>
Sexual Abuse	Male head <input type="checkbox"/>	Female head <input type="checkbox"/>	Children <input type="checkbox"/>	Other <input type="checkbox"/>
Verbal Abuse	Male head <input type="checkbox"/>	Female head <input type="checkbox"/>	Children <input type="checkbox"/>	Other <input type="checkbox"/>
Psychological Abuse	Male head <input type="checkbox"/>	Female head <input type="checkbox"/>	Children <input type="checkbox"/>	Other <input type="checkbox"/>

37. What did you do when you were abused?

- Reported to the female household head
- Reported to the male household head
- Reported to authority (chief, police,)
- Reported to a religious (priest, reverend, kadhi)

38. What action was taken?

- Counseling
- Medical examination
- Reprimanded
- Fired/Dismissed

39. Have you ever stolen or been accused of theft in the households you have worked? Yes No

If yes, what have you stolen or been accused of stealing?

Household Goods

Money

Clothing

Other

40. What action was taken regarding the theft?

Reported to the female household head

Reported to the male household head

Reported to authorities (police, chief)

Fired/dismissed

41. What do you dislike most about employers? _____

42. Do you intend to continue as a domestic? Yes No

If yes, how long do intend to continue as domestic?
(Specify) _____

If not,
why? _____

43. Is Domestic labour important? Yes No

If yes, what would you like to be addressed about domestic labour?

Thank You.

APPENDIX III

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE EMPLOYERS' QUESTIONNAIRE

Good morning/Afternoon.

My name is Betty Mugo and I am a student from the University of Nairobi carrying out research for my M.A. project in Gender and Development Studies. I am investigating the nature of household relations where domestics work. You have been selected to participate in this research and any information you will give will be highly confidential and will only be used in this academic exercise.

Can you participate in this exercise? Yes No

PART ONE

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

1. Sex Female Male

2. Ethnic background
(specify) _____

3. Residence/Locality
(Specify) _____

4. Age Below 20
 Between 20 - 24
 Between 25- 29

- Between 30 - 35
- Between 35- 40
- Over 40

5. Marital Status

- Single
- Married/Cohabiting
- Separated
- Divorced
- Widowed

6. Number and sex of Children (specify)

7. Age of children

- Below 1
- Between 1-5
- Between 5-10
- Between 10-15
- Between 15-20
- Between 20-25
- Above 25

8. Your Level of Education

- None
- Primary
- Secondary
- Tertiary Institution
- University

9. Occupation (specify) _____

10. Approximately how much do you earn per month?

- Below Kshs 5000
- Between Kshs. 5000 - 10,000
- Between Kshs 15,000- 20,000
- Between Kshs. 20,000 - 25,000
- Above Kshs. 25,000

11. Do you have other sources of income?

PART TWO

HOUSEHOLD /WORKING RELATIONS

12. Are the head of your household? Yes No

13. Who determines your household budget?

- Self
- Spouse
- Other(children, relatives,)

14. What is your contribution to the household budget?

- 100%
- 50%
- 0%

15. Who else contributes to the household budget?

(Specify)_____

16. How many people live in your household?

17. What is the nature of their relationship?

- Spouse
- Children
- Relatives

Domestic workers

Other (friends)

18. Who recruits the domestic into your household?

Self

Spouse

Relatives/Friends

Other(employer)

19. From where do you recruit your domestic?

Bureaus

Training/social services

Upcountry/Rural areas

Other (noticeboards)

20. Who pays the domestic your household?

Self

Spouse

Other(children, employer)

21. How much is the domestic paid?

Below Kshs 500

Between Kshs 500- Shs 1000

Between Kshs 1000 – Shs 1500

Between Kshs 1500 – Shs 2000

Between Kshs 2000- Shs 2500

Above Kshs 3000

22. Is your domestic fulltime or part time? _____

23. Who decides how much to pay the domestic?
- Self
 - Spouse
 - Domestic
 - Other
24. What duties does the domestic perform?
- Laundry
 - Housekeeping
 - Cooking
 - Shopping/running errands
 - Babysitting
 - All of the above
25. Who inducts the domestic into your household?
- Self
 - Spouse
 - Children
 - Other (relatives)
26. How do you induct your domestic into your household?
- By demonstration
 - By instruction/rules
 - Other
27. Who supervises the domestic?
- Self
 - Spouse
 - Children
 - Other (relatives, neighbours)
28. Where does your domestic sleep?
- In her own room
 - Shares a room with my child(ren)

In the living/sitting room

In the kitchen

29. Does the domestic share a bed with anyone? Yes No

If yes, specify _____

30. Who makes this decision? _____

31. When does your domestic take their meals?

Before the rest of the household

With the rest of the household

After of the rest of the household

32. Where does your domestic take these meals?

In the kitchen

In their room

In the dinning/sitting room

33. Do you give your domestic time off? Yes No

If yes, when and how long is the time off?

(Specify) _____

If no, why?

(Specify) _____

34. Do you allow your domestic to visit with neighbours or friends while on duty? Yes No

If no, why? (Specify) _____

35. Have you or any member of your household assaulted or abused your domestic?

Yes No

If yes, which member and what was the nature of the abuse?

Abuse _____

Perpetrator

Physical Abuse Male head Female head Children Other

Sexual Abuse Male head Female head Children Other

Verbal Abuse Male head Female head Children Other

Psychological Abuse Male head Female head Children Other

36. What action did you take?

Reported to the female/male household head

Reported to government authority i.e. chief, police,

Reported to a religious figure i.e. priest, nun, reverend, kadhi

Fired/Dismissed the domestic

Counselled/talked to the domestic

37. Has your domestic assaulted or abused you or any member of your household?

Yes No

If yes, which member and what was nature of the abuse?

Abuse

Victim

Physical Abuse Male head Female head Children Other

Sexual Abuse Male head Female head Children Other

Verbal Abuse Male head Female head Children Other

Psychological Abuse Male head Female head Children Other

38. What action did you take?

Reported to the female/male household head

Reported to government authority i.e. chief, police,

Reported to a religious figure i.e. priest, nun, reverend, kadhi

Reprimanded the domestic

Fired/Dismissed the domestic

39. Has any of your domestics ever stolen or been alleged to be involved in theft in your household? Yes No

40. What was the nature of the theft?

Household goods

Money

Clothing

Other

41. What action did you take?

Reported to the female/male household head

Reported to government authority i.e. chief, police,

Reported to a religious figure i.e. priest, nun, kadhi

Fired/Dismissed the domestic

Counseled the domestic

42. Do you intend to continue using domestic labour? Yes No

If yes, how long and why do you intend to continue using domestic labour?

(Specify) _____

If not, why?

43. Is Domestic labour important? Yes No

If yes, what would you like to be addressed about domestic servants?

Thank You.

APPENDIX IV

INDEPTH INTERVIEW GUIDE

1. What is the nature of your organization (social services, training facility, bureau)?
2. How do you view domestic labour?
3. What is your role in domestic labour (recruitment, rehabilitation, training)?
4. What are the major challenges you encounter?
5. What are the programs/interventions/activities your organization implements to address the above problems and who are the actors of these initiatives
6. What are the social, economic and cultural problems faced by domestics and what do you consider to be the causes of these problems?
7. What is your assessment of the following aspects of domestic labour?
 - Gender based violence
 - Working conditions
 - Household relations
 - Future of Domestic Labour
8. Whom do you consider to be the most vulnerable within households with domestics?
9. What is the role of the various organizations in addressing domestic labour in Kenya?